

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SECOND GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF

NATIONAL COMMITTEES ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

Paris, July 5th-9th, 1937

Geneva, January 1938.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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I. PREFACE.

National committees on intellectual co-operation were formed, between the years 1922 and 1937, in the following countries : Union of South Africa, Argentine Republic, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

Furthermore, the Catholic Union of International Studies and the Inter-Parliamentary Union created committees on intellectual co-operation, thus bringing the total number of these bodies up to forty-eight.

Their object is to serve as a link between the International Committee on the one hand, and the intellectual life of the different countries on the other. They are essential to intellectual co-operation, which they represent to-day in its national form.

Thus, both the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which is an advisory organ of the Council and the Assembly, and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which is an executive organ of the Committee, depend to a large extent on the constant assistance of the national committees.

In the first year of its existence, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation invited the national committees to send representatives to each of its annual sessions. The growth in the number of those committees, however, made it increasingly difficult to pursue this policy.

In 1929, the League of Nations accordingly convened the *First General Conference of National Committees*.

This meeting was mainly devoted to hearing the national reports presented by the several delegations on the activities of the committees which they represented.

From 1929 to 1937, no further general meeting was held, but the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation invited each year delegates of five national committees to follow its work.

When it was known that an International Exhibition of Art and Technique in Modern Life was to be held in Paris in 1937, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in 1934 considered the question of convening a second general conference at the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

On being consulted as to the desirability of such a meeting, the national committees expressed warm approval.

Thus encouraged, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation decided in 1935 to convene the Conference, and in 1936 appointed Professor Gilbert MURRAY as its President.

The questions to be studied were entrusted to five General Rapporteurs : M. Henri FOCILLON, Professor of the History of Art at the Sorbonne, member of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters ; His Excellency Senator Balbino GIULIANO, Chairman of the Italian National Committee ; His Excellency M. Peter MUNCH, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Chairman of the Danish National Committee ; M. HUIZINGA, member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, President of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science (Division of Letters) ; M. DE REYNOLD, member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Chairman of the Swiss National Committee.

In addition, various aspects of intellectual co-operation (continental, intercontinental and regional ; the part played by a committee on intellectual co-operation in its own country ; the part played by a national committee in making known in its own country the activities of the international bodies ; the special position of distant national committees) were dealt with by seven special Rapporteurs : M. Miguel OZORIO DE ALMEIDA, Chairman of the Brazilian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ; M. Antonio AITA, Secretary-General of the Argentine Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ; M. Li Yu Ying, President of the Peiping National Academy, member of the Executive Committee of the Chinese Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ; M. Shinji NISHIMURA, Professor of the University of Waseda (Japan) ; Rector ROEMERIS, Chairman of the Lithuanian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ; M. G. TZITZEICA, Chairman of the Roumanian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ; Mr. Kenneth BINNS, Chairman of the Australian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ; M. Karol LUTOSTANSKI, Chairman of the Polish Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

In the course of its proceedings, the Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation received various resolutions submitted by the delegations of Austria, the United Kingdom, Chile, Denmark, France, Japan, Poland and Switzerland, and also by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the Catholic Union of International Studies, and by M. de Voinovitch, State delegate of Yugoslavia accredited to the Institute.

The Conference recognised the importance of these proposals, but it considered that some of them involved certain action and an extension of the programme of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and that therefore, in conformity with the Organisation's practice, a preliminary study should be made of them.

The Conference accordingly transmitted the whole of the proposals to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to the Governing Body of the Institute, requesting them to examine the proposals and take such action upon them as might seem fit.

Owing to the generosity of the French Government and of the General Commissariat of the Paris Exhibition, the *Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation* was able to meet at the Institute from July 5th to 9th, 1937.

The Conference was opened by M. Yvon Delbos, Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, and closed by M. Edouard Herriot, President of the French Chamber of Deputies, Chairman of the French Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Professor Gilbert Murray presided over the nine meetings. The present publication contains the full text of the opening and closing speeches, together with the twelve reports submitted during the meetings. Long extracts from the discussions are also given, except in the case of speeches which were simply national reports on the activities of a special committee, and the final report and resolutions, which the Conference unanimously approved at its last meeting, are reproduced.

This publication is intended as an expression of thanks to the French Government and the General Commissariat of the Exhibition, as a grateful acknowledgment to the Rapporteurs and other persons actively engaged in the work, and as a memento for all who took part in the Conference. Finally, it is to be regarded as evidence of the vitality of the Intellectual Co-operative Organisation of the League of Nations.

2. LIST OF DELEGATES.

ARGENTINE.

M. Roberto GACHE, Counsellor of the Argentine Embassy in Paris.
Dr. Gregorio ARAOZ ALFARO, Honorary Professor at the Faculty of Medicine, Member of the Academy.

AUSTRALIA.

Sir Robert GARRAN, Chairman of the Federal Australian League of Nations Union.

AUSTRIA.

Count DEGENFELD SCHONBURG, Professor of National and Political Economy at Vienna University, Member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
Dr. August VON LOEHR, Director of the Federal Collection of Coins and Medals at the Fine Arts Museum of Vienna, Member of the Academy of Science.
Mme. Erna PATZELT, Professor of History at the University of Vienna.

BELGIUM.

Count CARTON DE WIART, Minister of State, Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations.
Senator VERMEYLEN, Professor at the University of Ghent, Member of the Flemish Royal Academy.
M. WILMOTTE, Member of the Royal Belgian Academy of French Literature and Language, Emeritus Professor at Liège University.
M. NYNS, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Public Education.
Mme. NISOT, Doctor of Law.
M. DUPIERREUX, Editor of the *Soir*, of Brussels.
M. BERSOU, Secretary of the Belgian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

BOLIVIA.

M. A. COSTA DU RELS, Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations.

BRAZIL.

M. Miguel OZORIO DE ALMEIDA, Chairman of the Brazilian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. Aloysio DE CASTRO, former member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and former Chairman of the Brazilian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. Elyseu DE MONTARROYOS, Delegate of Brazil to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

UNITED KINGDOM.

Sir Frederick KENYON, Chairman of the British National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
Sir Frank HEATH, Member of the Executive Committee of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
Dame Edith LYTTTELTON, Member of the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.
Sir Alfred ZIMMERN, Professor at the University of Oxford.

BULGARIA.

M. Georges P. GUENOV, Professor at the Faculty of Law, Vice-Chairman of the Bulgarian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. Nicolas MAVRODINOV, Head Curator of the National Museum of Sofia.
Jean STAMENOV, First Secretary at the Bulgarian Legation in Paris.

CHILE.

Mlle. Gabriela MISTRAL, Author, Consul of Chile in Lisbon.

M. Miguel Luis ROCUANT, Author, former Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of Chile.

M. Enrique GAJARDO, Chief of the Permanent Bureau of Chile accredited to the League of Nations.

M. Alberto ROMERO, Author.

CHINA.

M. LI Yu Ying, Chairman of the National Academy at Peiping, Member of the Executive Committee of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

M. NY Tsi Ze, Doctor of Science, Director of the Institute of Physics at the National Academy of Peiping.

CUBA.

M. Mariano BRULL, Chargé d'Affaires of Cuba in Brussels.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Dr. E. WINTER, Professor at the Faculty of Theology in the German University.

Dr. Jakub PAVEL, Secretary of the Czechoslovak National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

DENMARK.

Dr. Peter MUNCH, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the Danish National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

M. HEGERMANN-LINDENCRONE, Secretary of the Danish National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

EGYPT.

M. Taha HUSSEIN, Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Gizeh.

ESTONIA.

M. Ludwig PUUSEPP, Professor at the University of Tartu.

M. Gustav SUITS, Professor at the University of Tartu.

M. Peeter TARVEL, Professor at the University of Tartu.

FINLAND.

M. Harri HOLMA, Minister of Finland in Paris.

FRANCE.

M. Edouard HERRIOT, Chairman of the Chambre des Députés, Chairman of the French National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

M. Jacques BARDOUX, Member of the Institute.

M. Joseph BARTHÉLEMY, Member of the Institute.

- M. C. BOUGLÉ, Director of the Ecole normale supérieure.
M. Georges DUHAMEL, Author.
M. Henri FOCILLON, Professor of the History of Art at the Sorbonne.
M. Louis GALLÉ, Barrister-at-law, Secretary-General of the French National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. Paul LANDOWSKI, Member of the Institute.
M. C. LEBRUN, Director of the " Centre national de documentation pédagogique ".
M. Charles MARIE, Secretary-General of the Federation of French Scientific Societies.
M. Paul VALÉRY, Vice-Chairman of the French National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Member of the Academy.
M. Henri VERNE, Director of the National Museums and of the " Ecole du Louvre ".

GREECE.

- M. Stelio SÉFÉRIADÈS, Chairman of the Greek National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Professor of International Law at the University of Athens, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

HUNGARY.

- Count Paul TELEKI, former Prime Minister, Professor of Geography at the Technical and Economic University of Budapest, Chairman of the Hungarian Committee of Co-ordination of Higher International Studies, Member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
Count Étienne ZICHY, Chief Curator of the Historical Museum, member of the Hungarian Academy.
M. Béla KEREKJARTO, Corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and of the Royal Society of Sciences at Liège, Professor at the University of Szeged.

INDIA.

- Mr. G. R. PARANJPEE, Professor of Physics, Royal Institute of Science, Bombay.
Professor N. R. DHAR, Head of the Chemistry Department, University of Allahabad.

IRAN.

- Dr. Mehdi VAKIL, *Chef du Cabinet* of the Minister of Education.

ITALY.

- Senator Albino GIULIANO, Chairman of the Italian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Professor at the University of Rome.
M. Michele GIULIANO, Secretary-General of the Italian Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

JAPAN.

- Professor Saburo YAMADA, Permanent Member of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Member of the Academy.
Dr. Naojiro SUGIYAMA, Professor at the Imperial University of Tokio.
M. ANESAKI, Professor of Science and History of Religion at the Imperial University of Tokio, Member of the Imperial Academy.

LATVIA.

- M. L. ADAMOVICS, Professor and former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Latvia at Riga, former Minister of Education, Chairman of the Latvian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

LEBANON.

- M. ABICHAHLA, Minister of Education.

LITHUANIA.

- Professor M. ROEMERIS, Rector of the University of Vytautas-the-Great, Chairman of the Lithuanian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
Dr. Antanas TRIMAKAS, Secretary-General of the Lithuanian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Chief of Section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
M. Vytautas SOBLYS, Director of the Klaipeda Institute of Pedagogy.

LUXEMBURG.

- M. N. BRAUNSHAUSEN, Minister of the Interior, Chairman of the Luxemburg National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. Nicolas MARGUE, Professor of History, Alderman of the City of Luxemburg.
M. Ed. OSTER, Director of the Lycée de jeunes filles.
M. J. WAGENER, Director of the Athénée.

MEXICO.

- M. Isidro FABELA, Minister Plenipotentiary, Delegate of Mexico to the League of Nations.
M. José NUNEZ Y DOMINGUEZ, Author.

NETHERLANDS.

- Dr. N. VAN WIJK, Professor in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Leyden, Chairman of the Netherlands National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. J. HUIZINGA, Chairman of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science, Member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Professor of History at the University of Leyden.
M. J. TER MEULEN, Director of the Library of the Peace Palace, Secretary and Treasurer of the Netherlands National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

NETHERLANDS INDIES.

- M. F. J. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS, Attached to the Department of Economic Affairs in Batavia, Vice-Chairman of the Federation of Peace Associations in the Netherlands Indies.

NORWAY.

- Dr. Frede CASTBERG, Chairman of the Norwegian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Professor at the University of Oslo.

POLAND.

- M. Karol LUTOSTANSKI, Professor of Civil Law at the University of Warsaw ; Chairman of the Polish National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. Czesław BIAŁOBRZESKI, Professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of Warsaw, Member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Member of the Polish Academy of Science.
M. Bogdan NAWROCYNSKI, Professor of Education at the University of Warsaw.
M. Stefan PRIENKOWSKI, Professor of Physics at the University of Warsaw, Member of the Polish Academy of Science.
M. Zbigniew ZANIEWICKI, Secretary of the Polish National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

PORTUGAL.

- Mme. Virginia DE CASTRO Y ALMEIDA, Author.

ROUMANIA.

- M. Georges TZITZEICA, Professor at the University of Bucharest, Secretary-General of the Roumanian Academy, Chairman of the Roumanian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. Georges OPRESCU, Professor at the University of Bucharest, Member of the Governing Body of the Office des Instituts d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art.

SALVADOR.

- Dr. D. Francisco Antonio LIMA, Member of the Governing Body of the College of Lawyers of Salvador.

SPAIN.

- Dr. D. Manuel MARQUEZ, Professor at the University of Madrid.
M. T. NAVARRO TOMAS, Director of the National Library of Madrid.
M. José CASTILLEJO, Professor at the University of Madrid, Member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. D. José GAOS, Professor at the University of Madrid.

SWEDEN.

- M. B. KNÖS, Secretary of State at the Ministry of Education.

SWITZERLAND.

- M. Gonzague DE REYNOLD, Professor at the University of Fribourg, Member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. Daniel BAUD-BOVY, Honorary Director of the School of Fine Arts at Geneva, Chairman of the Federal Commission of Fine and Applied Arts.
M. A. ROHN, Chairman of the Federal Polytechnic School of Zurich.
M. A. SIMONIUS, Judge at the Court of Appeal of Basle-Ville ; former Rector of the University of Basle, Member of the International Institute of the Philosophy of Law.
M. P. TUOR, Professor at the Faculty in Law of the University of Berne.
M. Jean MERMINOD, Secretary of the Swiss National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. Camille GORGÉ, Counsellor of Legation, Head of the League of Nations Section in the Political Department.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

- Mr. James T. SHOTWELL, Professor at Columbia University, Director of the Division of Economics and History, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Chairman of the American National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
Mr. Carl L. ALSBERG, Director of the " Food Research Institute ", Leland Librarian, University of Michigan.
Mr. Malcolm DAVIS, Associate Director, European Centre of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
Dean V. C. GILDERSLEEVE, Barnard College, New York.
Mr. Waldo G. LELAND, Executive Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C.
Dean William F. RUSSELL, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York.
Mr. George F. ZOOK, Director of the American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.
Miss M. SHOTWELL, Executive Secretary of the American National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

URUGUAY.

- M: Juan Antonio BUERO, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Legal Adviser to the League of Nations.

YUGOSLAVIA.

- M. Miodrag IBROVAC, Professor of French Literature at the University of Belgrade, Chairman of the Yugoslav National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
M. Louis DE VOINOVITCH, Delegate of Yugoslavia to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

* * *

COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION OF THE CATHOLIC UNION OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.

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M. Karl DOKA, Director of the Review *Schweizerische Rundschau*.
Rev. Father DUBOIS, Secretary of the Committee.
Dr. GLINSEK, Professor at the St. Vid College of Ljubljana.
Mr. FOWKE, Secretary-General of the Catholic Council for International relations.
M. Oscar HALECKI, Professor of History at the University of Warsaw.
M. MENDIZABAL VILLALBA, former Professor at the University of Oviedo.

PERMANENT INTER-PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL RELATIONS.

- Count DI SAN MARTINO VALPERGA, Senator, Chairman of the Italian Inter-Parliamentary Group,
Vice-Chairman of the Inter-Parliamentary Committee on Intellectual Relations.

OBSERVERS.

PALESTINE.

- M. MAGNES, Chancellor of the Jewish University of Jerusalem.

PERU.

- M. Alberto WAGNER REYNA.

SECRETARIAT.

- (a) *For the Secretariat of the League of Nations:*

M. Massimo PILOTTI, Deputy Secretary-General.
M. Jean-Daniel DE MONTENACH, Secretary of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

- (b) *For the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation:*

M. Henri BONNET, Director.
M. Daniel SECRÉTAN, Secretary-General.

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4. REPORTS SUBMITTED TO THE CONFERENCE.

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FROM 1931 TO 1937.

By M. Henri FOCILLON,
General Rapporteur,
Member of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters,
Professor of the History of Art at Paris University.

[Point 5, I, on the Agenda.]

The work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is of a twofold character. It consists of study and action. These two aspects of its functions are, moreover, closely bound up with one another, since the Organisation studies so that it may act, and since the mass of documents, information and ideas of which it is the custodian and which it has been instrumental in producing, has no other purpose than that of serving concrete and practical ends. The Organisation was set up in the service of intellectual pursuits, to establish or to complete those relations between countries without which research is inevitably delayed or obliged to repeat itself. Its efforts are not aimed at creating cultural uniformity, but at establishing some sort of order in intellectual work.

It is on these simple principles that its technique is based, the machinery of which may at first sight seem to be very complicated, for it must be adapted to a number of requirements and must, as far as possible, be able to meet all the exigencies of the intellect. But when, in circumstances such as those in which we are meeting to-day, we are led to consider as a whole the results it has obtained in the course of the last few years, we are able to discern with striking clearness its outstanding features and a trend of activity that inspires us with a feeling of confidence. During the last seven years, from 1931 to 1937, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has very largely contributed to *rapprochement* between men of different countries, to the comparison of methods and to the unification of efforts, and in many cases it has succeeded in its task.

It may not be without interest to recapitulate briefly the stages through which this work has passed and the results that have recently been obtained. All those who, in times that have often been difficult, have devoted themselves to this work, who have given it their support, and who, each for his own part and in his own country, have carried on these activities in a generous spirit, will find that their hopes have been justified. The steadily growing force of this Organisation is proved by something more than mere statistics. Its increased vitality is confirmed by the world-wide circle of followers it has won, by the quality of its collaborators, and by certain positive data which show the central place it occupies in the sphere of higher activities.

It may be said that the moral history of our time would henceforth be incomplete if this prominent position were not given to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and it may be added that, in the fields of the exact sciences, the humanities, art and letters, very few men can now afford to disregard entirely the resources which it has brought within the reach of all. Let us not criticise those solitary workers who, perhaps as the result of what may be a splendid vow on their part, stand aloof from the "League of Minds". But let us continue to seek and multiply the means to work and act together, respecting what is deserving of respect in each cultural sphere.

Such were the thoughts which, as long ago as 1931, undoubtedly inspired the promoters of "Conversations" and "Open Letters". They felt that it was desirable to revive this method of intercourse through the medium of letters or conversations which had been so widely practised in the Europe of our forefathers, and thus to provoke not a return to the past but the perpetuation of an excellent custom. This method provides a means of comparing ideas in the most direct and forceful manner, either in the form of written studies or by the spoken word. We hoped that some men, after having acquired this habit, would find it impossible to abandon it.

Four volumes of "Open Letters" on subjects of intense interest, and seven "Conversations" — held at Frankfurt, Madrid, Paris, Venice, Nice, Budapest and Buenos Aires — on the essential problems confronting us to-day, testify to the interest taken by the intellectual *élite* and by an enlightened public in an enterprise the sole object of which was to carry out a sort of collective survey of thought.

What is the future of culture? What is the future of the European spirit? How should modern man be trained? And, in the first place, what type of man do we wish to produce? What part should the humanities play in that training? What are the fundamental relations that exist between Europe and Latin America? How, and in the light of what ideas, can these relations be developed? What is the meaning of the life and work of Goethe? How can new life be instilled into this great "Republic of Letters" which, in an era when men were less estranged from one another, represented, beyond the frontiers, a territory in which understanding and clarity prevailed? These are a few of the subjects which have been debated in good faith and from a great variety of standpoints by the men who have taken part in these informal yet ceremonious meetings, where, more easily than at formal congresses, the thoughts of each, stimulated by those of others, reach their highest and freest expression.

We hesitate to say so, but we gained the impression that, at these gatherings characterised by such cordiality, our contemporaries preferred to speak their thoughts than to take up a pen and write them. We shall, however, not relax our efforts to maintain a correspondence which, on several decisive questions, has already provoked friendly discussion between some of the most famous and most enlightened thinkers of our time.

The same concern and similar methods of procedure have been evident in the organisation of the scientific study of international relations. In this field, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has not, strictly speaking, departed from the usual course. As long ago as 1920, that is immediately after the great war, and particularly in Anglo-Saxon circles, efforts were being made to determine whether it was possible to substitute positive rules, based on observation and the objective investigation of facts, for the precarious and dangerous elements in relations between peoples.

In 1931, the Copenhagen Conference brought together, for the fourth time, the representatives of the Institutes of International Studies and decided to set up a permanent body — the International Studies Conference — the secretariat of which was to be installed at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. After dealing with economic and political relations in the life of nations, the Conference took up other investigations, the choice of which was dictated by the situation of the moment ; thus, the Milan and London Conferences discussed the intervention of the State in economic life ; the London and Paris Conferences, the problem of security. It was desirable to introduce this branch of study and its methods, which constitute a new science, into the system of university teaching. This will henceforward be possible, thanks to the generous support of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Concurrently with this systematic enquiry into what might be called " political biology ", the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation gave effect to a proposal put forward by Professor Shotwell (1932) that, in collaboration with the International Labour Office, an enquiry should be started on the importance of mechanisation in the modern world. The formula adopted in 1935 clearly indicates the antinomy with which we are faced : Man and the Machine. It had, on many occasions, been evoked (and it will no doubt be frequently referred to again) at several meetings of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. It is interesting to note that men representing not only different countries but also different spheres of thought — artists, poets, historians, economists and political experts — have taken up this same problem and are endeavouring to find a solution according to their own individual ideas. In our opinion, it is one of the great advantages of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation that it can give due regard both to the unity of the problems studied and the variety of the dialectics involved.

It will thus be seen how, in the field of human sciences, by bringing together leaders of thought and by creating common centres of action for the different institutes, our Organisation is true to the intentions of those who founded it ; and the extent of its progress may also be gauged. With regard to the exact and natural sciences, the question was somewhat different. The programme laid down in 1931 limited our efforts to the single question of technical and administrative co-ordination, the co-ordination of research proper being reserved for the International Council of Scientific Unions. This international centre was, in fact, at the disposal of scientists before we entered the field. On certain points, however, it was still possible and desirable to complete the co-ordination of technical methodology, for example, by fixing the language of research. This was the task that devolved upon the Paris and Madrid meetings (1932), the principal object of which was the co-ordination of scientific terminology.

The meeting held in 1935 was called for the purpose of co-ordinating science museums, and, by seeking to establish uniformity in the preparation of scientific bibliographies, the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation had a similar aim. The 1936 meeting completed this programme by the addition of a few happily conceived projects, like that of " Conversations " along the lines of those previously organised by the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, and by the understanding reached concerning the transcription of titles in Roman characters.

It is indeed with the help of such results — which will appear to be insignificant only to the superficially minded — that the foundations can be laid for that unanimous agreement which is indispensable to knowledge, and in the absence of which we find ourselves held up by trifling difficulties that can and must be overcome. But to do this, no little perseverance is required. Science, which is based on the universal foundations of reason, must have, if not its universal technique — for technical invention is dependent upon individual genius and may change very rapidly — at least its uniform terminology and a constant system of signs and bibliographical conventions of an invariable character.

Research can scarcely be separated from teaching. University questions are bound up with scientific problems. It was indispensable that efforts should be made to establish international collaboration between the universities, and, until 1931, this was attempted in the first instance by means of meetings of the directors of national university offices. Useful discussions took place on such subjects as exchanges, travel, differences in organisation, the cost of living for students and the conditions of admission to the universities. From 1932 onwards, the directors of higher education were asked to compare their experiences. In 1935, the result of their joint work, supplemented by the enquiries conducted by the Institute, was published in the form of a volume on the organisation of universities in the different countries. Lastly, by seeking the collaboration of the seven major international student organisations and by convening them to meet twice a year, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was able to take up certain questions of vital importance, such as that of unemployment (1935).

Very few problems have given rise to such definite, urgent and directly useful investigation. To create employment, distribute the vacancies, place unemployed students in countries able to absorb them, establish university statistical bureaux — such are the objects of an enquiry that

is still proceeding, for which the legislators of each country can evolve something better than useful suggestions.

The same may be said of the study undertaken in connection with the reorganisation of secondary education and its adaptation to present-day needs, besides the delicate and debatable technique of guidance as to future careers. The efficacy of this kind of work can be estimated by the fact that, for another question (National Educational Documentation Centres, Destrée proposal, 1930), forty centres were formed on the recommendation of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation (1934 list). It is clear that, in this field, practical action goes hand in hand with study.

Can the same be said regarding the revision of school text-books, undertaken as a result of the Casares proposal (1925). In any case, the creation of permanent commissions within the national committees, the Borel proposal (1934) and the drawing up, in 1935, of what may be called a charter formulating the engagements to be entered into by the different countries with a view to the elimination of tendentious texts, constitute examples that prove the continuity of the efforts made to deal with an essential question.

The work undertaken under this head in connection with the reorganisation of education in China calls for special attention. In 1931, the Central Government of Nanking asked the League of Nations to assist it in remodelling and equipping its educational institutions by sending to China a mission of experts who would draw up a plan of reform. Never before had pioneers of the intellectual world been afforded such a gratifying opportunity of putting their wishes into practical effect and of bringing their experience so strongly into action. The mission left in the autumn of 1931 and returned at the beginning of 1932; the report which it submitted was later published by the Institute under the title "Reorganisation of Public Education in China".

In this ancient country, so homogeneous and yet so divided, animated by a spirit of modernity in spite of its foundations dating back thousands of years, it was difficult to strike a proper balance and to reconcile the requirements of contemporary life with the preservation of an ancient civilisation, still so active and so prominent in the everyday existence of the people. The international mission to China had its counterpart, in 1932, in the Chinese delegation that visited Europe. In 1933, a series of decrees promulgated by the Chinese Government provided for the democratic reorganisation of public education and laid down measures calculated to give the country the professional teaching staff it needed.

While it was engaged in the study of general problems concerning the future of culture, education and the regular relations between centres of higher learning and scientific research; while it was exerting its effective influence far afield — the educational mission to China being a notable example — the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was pursuing its work of co-ordination, and sought to apply the principles thereof to libraries, to archives services, museums and institutes of archaeology. In each of these spheres, it devoted special attention to questions of method, and to that technique of comparison and liaison that not only facilitate research, but also make it more reliable and concordant. Its experts presented the relevant data in the form of guides.

It is in this connection that the dual character of the Organisation's activities can be understood: on the one hand, it is interested in the most general and most comprehensive aspects of the conduct of cultural affairs, in the art of grasping differences, of merging them, of bringing them into line and of making them serve the same ends; on the other, consideration is given to working equipment and processes, since any research involving the study and classification of an object must first of all have a technique.

In the earlier stages of its work, the Organisation had produced a "Code of Abbreviations of Titles of Periodicals" and the "Index Bibliographique" — a catalogue of current bibliographies. Since 1931, its library experts have, in two successive publications, defined the rôle of popular libraries, and the rôle and training of librarians. Other studies are proceeding, among which may be mentioned that on the compulsory deposit of publications and another on the building and equipment of libraries. These parallel studies led to the publication, in 1935, of the first volume of the "Guide international des Archives", and we may hope to see very shortly the publication of the international guide to documentation.

Work in connection with art institutions must be reviewed separately. There is, first of all, the International Museums Office which, according to the formula adopted by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, is entrusted with the task of promoting and establishing regular collaboration between the different museums of the world. In a series of important Conferences, the Office has examined the essential points of that new science known as museography; at Rome (1930), the application of laboratory methods in the analysis and identification of works of art; at Athens (1931), various methods of preserving historic monuments; at Madrid (1934), all the major problems which relate to museums. Mention should also be made of the creation of the International Commission on Historical Monuments, the draft international agreements concerning international art exhibitions, and the prevention of sales of objects illicitly abstracted from public collections or clandestinely exported, all of which are a natural consequence of these important activities.

Publications such as the review *Museion*, which has developed very considerably in recent years, and which contains periodical annexes that will become indispensable to curators and art historians, and the monumental treatise which, under the title of "Muséographie", devotes two quarto volumes to the findings of the Madrid Conference, are further examples of this valuable work.

In a very closely related sphere of activity there is the International Centre for Institutes of Archaeology and History of Art. Its function is sufficiently defined by its title. Its aim is also to co-ordinate research. Its conferences of experts, the meetings of its Bureau and the publication of its *Bulletin*, by bringing the institutes into contact with each other and by enabling them to compare their organisation, equipment and methods, serve to unite these centres of research

and to co-ordinate the work they have in hand. It is under the auspices of this Centre that the ground is prepared for an historical and technical knowledge of the works housed in museums, it is here that training is provided for specialised historians who work on excavation sites and later teach in the universities. The activities pursued by these two offices are necessarily complementary; their combined efforts ensured the success of the Cairo Conference which was held this year and at which the methods and legislation of excavations were discussed.

Besides works of art, which are the expression of refined cultures, there is another sphere of human life that is characterised by artistic manifestations — namely, folk art. Folk art may be regarded either as a "by-product" of the major arts, simplified by rural craftsmen, or as an ornament of rustic life in contrast to the art of town-dwellers, or again as the persistence of century-old technique and themes which, in remote regions, have survived the revolutions in artistic taste.

Although each nation puts into its folk art something that represents its individual genius, and although it gives it personal colour according to its own original talent, the fact remains that, irrespective of frontiers, we find a certain unity due to the similarity of handicrafts or the long-standing existence of a proto-historic vocabulary. This had already been revealed by the work of the Prague Conference (1928), which was continued in 1930 at the Brussels-Liège-Antwerp Congress.

The International Committee for Folk Art is continuing its study of this extremely important aspect of human genius. It is even examining in what measure it would be possible to associate its attractions and benefits with a readjustment of the life of the working classes. Its publications on folk art and workers' leisure, on folk-music and folk-songs, the second volume of which is being prepared, are a fitting sequel to the two fine volumes of the Proceedings of the Prague Congress.

The place taken by letters in the development of intellectual co-operation is no less important. It can be said that they form the nucleus of the "Conversations" and "Open Letters", started on the initiative of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters.

But although it is easy to realise the services that can be rendered by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and are actually being rendered to research, to the exact sciences and to the humanities, it is difficult to conceive of a "co-ordination of literatures".

It is true that the question cannot be stated in such terms. It is far less a matter of co-ordinating methods and enquiries than of furthering the diffusion of certain literary works throughout the world. Never have we been farther from the unity of languages. The admirable but formidable diversity of idioms must of course be respected; each of them is probably the form required by a certain mode of thought, each contains a wealth of century-old pictures and ideas which are faithfully adapted to the mould in which they were cast; that cast must not be destroyed, not even with the idea of replacing it by the standard measure of the finest of languages — whatever language that may be.

But these splendid exigencies of a language, these masterpieces whose number and vocabulary cannot be transposed and whose rhythm and tone are inimitable, nevertheless hold a communicable treasure — a portrait of man, a picture of human life which is of the utmost value to us. It was right that we should know what was from time to time being translated in different parts of the world — that sort of beneficent nomadism which, from language to language and from culture to culture, carries with it a number of elements that are worthy of being placed at the disposal of the community. The "Index Translationum" (1931), which now covers fourteen countries, publishes information on the translations of literary and scientific works.

It was not sufficient, however, to announce the works translated from one language into another; a selection had to be made among these translations with a view to promoting mutual knowledge between nations and a widespread diffusion of notable works. It was this consideration that led to the foundation of the "Ibero-American Collection", which has opened up new horizons and revealed outlooks on life that have enriched the culture of the world. The "Japanese Collection" followed, the first volume of which was the "Hai-Kai" of the poet Bashô and his disciples — a particularly happy choice since it introduces us not only to the delicate secrets of the poetry of a distant land, but also to a technique of imagination and taste which, by its very brevity, seems to multiply the impressions of that country's life.

We have briefly touched upon the work that has been accomplished during the last seven years. These activities have been pursued in the field of pure thought and disinterested research and in connection with urgent problems of to-day. In endeavouring to preserve permanent values, contemporary problems have not been overlooked and an attempt is being made to define and solve them. The work is adapted to man's new resources and new condition — if it is true, as we believe it to be, that each historical period reflects a human type which is peculiar to it and which it behoves us to distinguish and describe.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has given its constant attention to all that could serve this purpose. It will not allow the machinery to remain unproductive. It wishes to use it in the cause of peace; it assigns to it an intellectual rôle. Broadcasting and the cinematograph are therefore being made to serve its ends, not in an obscure and historical manner, nor by the expression of pious hopes, but by concrete and constructive action, as is proved by the Convention relating to Broadcasts prejudicial to the Cause of Peace, concluded at the Conference held in 1936.

On all these points, whether it be in the sphere of authors' rights, moral rights, the teaching of the aims and work of the League of Nations, or whether it be considered in the light of its "Cahiers", its "Open Letters", "Conversations" or periodical bulletins, some of which rank amongst the most important of our time, the Organisation is more than ever what its founders wished it to be: a centre of human brotherhood, an instrument of peace and a powerful auxiliary of the mind.

THE ORGANISATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

By His Excellency Senator Balbino GIULIANO,

Chairman of the Italian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

[Point 5, II, on the Agenda.]

Several of my distinguished colleagues are to present special reports on various particular problems concerning the national committees — for example, on regional intellectual co-operation (inter-American, inter-Baltic, inter-Balkan); on the rôle of the national committees as interpreters of the cultures of the different countries (Japanese Committee); on the rôle of the national committees in familiarising the public with the publications of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation (Chinese Committee); on the function of the national committees as a factor in the intellectual life of their respective countries (Polish Committee); and on the special position of national committees in distant countries (Australian Committee).

For this reason, I shall confine myself to examining a few general problems concerning the national committees, such as their universality, their composition, their relations with one another and with the International Organisation, their programme of work, the frequency of their meetings, etc.

I feel that it will be worth while to begin by a backward glance along the road which the national committees have travelled thus far, not only because the paths of our future activity will be, at least in part, the natural continuation of projects which are already in progress of execution or which have been approved in principle, but also because a general review of the work hitherto accomplished may enable us to discover new principles capable of guiding our future activity, or at least of enabling us to resume our march with a new spirit of initiative and revived ardour.

It may be said that the national committees of intellectual co-operation came into existence at the same time as the International Committee itself. The latter met for the first time in July 1922; and, as early as October of the same year, the Council of the League of Nations approved the idea of creating an intermediate organisation in each country. In January 1923, the Council authorised the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to take the steps necessary for the accomplishment of this purpose.

Fifteen years have since gone by and now the national committees number more than forty and are holding their second general assembly.

It is not without interest to note some of the stages in this remarkable development.

The year 1922, then, saw the creation of both the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the first national committees. The question at once arose of the relations between these bodies. The Chairman of the International Committee, that distinguished man, M. Henri Bergson, wisely suggested that these relations ought not to be governed by hard and fast rules, and that, in view of the diversity of these committees, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ought not to be fettered by too definite a set of regulations.

Even to-day, we can still recognise in the practical wisdom of this idea the clarity and creative ability of that great thinker.

We, too, are convinced that culture, although it cannot fail to be influenced by the special characteristics of each nation, always reflects in its creations the great ideals whose field of activity is universal, transcending earthly limitations. We therefore believe that the culture of a nation, while it must remain true to itself in order to progress, likewise needs contacts and exchanges with the cultures of other nations. In the field of culture, more than in any other field, no nation, however great, can isolate itself without running the risk of sterilising its energies and of attaching a dead weight to its activity. Each nation, however great, can and should, through the collaboration of other nations, become conscious of the limits of its own culture, and find the means and the impulse to escape from those limits.

It should be added, however, that, if we are to succeed in so ambitious an undertaking, our solidarity must never lead us to reduce to an abstract uniformity that real freedom which is the mainspring of healthy activity.

In 1923, thirteen delegates of national committees attended the meeting of the International Committee, and a substantial debate took place on the status of these committees. It ended in the adoption of "suggestions" relating to the organisation of the national committees on intellectual co-operation.

According to these suggestions, which are condensed into three articles, the national committees should be:

(1) Liaison organs between the intellectual life of their respective nations and the International Committee;

(2) Autonomous organs, and, at the same time, organs for the co-ordination of the intellectual life of their respective nations;

(3) Organs provided with a permanent secretariat.

These three articles, taken as a whole, remain completely valid.

Meantime, the successive Assemblies of the League of Nations adopted resolutions inviting the States to facilitate the creation of national committees, where they did not yet exist, and to give financial support to those which had already been formed.

The year 1926 is an important date, because of the passage by the Assembly of a resolution creating the *Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations*.

There already existed, within the general framework of the League, the International Labour Organisation, the Communications and Transit Organisation, the Economic and Financial Organisation, and the International Health Organisation. Intellectual Co-operation thus forms a fifth organisation which the League of Nations deemed necessary to its work.

The action of the Assembly finds its explanation in the fact that, since January 1926, there existed, not only the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the corresponding section in the Secretariat of the League of Nations, but also, as a result of a generous offer by the French Government, joined by many other States, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, of Paris, whose guests we are to-day.

The resolution of the Assembly groups these various institutions into an orderly and coherent whole, and, for the first time, incorporates the national committees into this Organisation.

The resolution adds : " The Assembly considers that this organisation constitutes henceforth a mechanism capable of strengthening intellectual relations among the nations, and of improving working conditions throughout the world."

By 1929, the national committees were sufficiently numerous and their usefulness sufficiently demonstrated for the League of Nations to call a first general assembly. It met at Geneva from July 18th to 20th, with Professor Gilbert Murray presiding. Twenty-eight national committees were officially represented.

The deliberations of this first parliament of intellectual co-operation concerned, first, the functioning of the young organisation after seven years of existence, and, secondly, the activities of the national committees themselves.

The delegates in turn made brief statements on the activity of their respective committees.

This part of the discussion deserves our special attention, for whoever reads the Minutes of the 1929 Conference sees the life of the national committees set out before his eyes like a panorama.

Here are the dates, in tabular form, of the founding of the national committees, as far as it has been possible to ascertain them :

1922 : Belgium, Brazil, Greece.

1923 : Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Yugoslavia.

1924 : France, Norway, Switzerland, and the Catholic Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

1925 : Australia, Cuba, Denmark, Roumania.

1926 : Japan, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Sweden, United States of America.

1928 : United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Salvador, Spain.

1929 : Estonia, Iceland.

1930 : Chile.

1931 : Mexico.

1933 : China, Syria, Union of South Africa.

1934 : Bolivia.

1936 : Argentine, Iran.

1937 : Egypt, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, the Evangelical Committee, and the Inter-Parliamentary Committee.

This enumeration is nevertheless of great interest. Year after year, we see the number of national committees increase, regularly and without a pause, until they cover more than forty of some sixty States which make up the international community. The process is not a sudden flowering, but a slow growth.

The distribution among the continents is also quite remarkable. While Europe has the majority, the American continent has seven or eight national committees, and the number will doubtless grow, thanks to the efforts of the Pan-American Union, which is supporting on this point the action of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

Asia follows, with six national committees : China, India, Iran, Japan, Lebanon and Syria.

Africa and Australia have one each.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, then, may rightly claim to be universal. It is, however, not yet complete, and one of the aims of our Conference should be to extend still further the network of our committees.

If the Conference shares my opinion, I should like to submit at the proper time a draft resolution to this effect.

The year 1930 saw the recasting of our Organisation. It may be well to recall in this connection the considerations relative to the national committees which were contained in the report of the Committee of Enquiry.

" National committees came into existence to act as a link between the International Committee and intellectual life of the different countries. They accordingly constitute a necessary adjunct to intellectual co-operation, and now represent the national aspects of intellectual co-operation :

" (a) There should therefore be a national committee in each country.

" (b) More continuous and more systematic co-operation should be established between the International Committee and the national committees, and the latter should be given a more direct share in the work of intellectual co-operation ; otherwise there is a risk of their gradually disappearing.

" (c) Without wishing to go so far, for the moment at least, as to found intellectual co-operation on the national committees, we consider it essential that meetings of their representatives should be regularly convened at longer or shorter intervals. These should take place whenever questions arise of interest to the national committees as a whole and likely to strengthen the ties between them and the International Committee.

" (d) Without, again, wishing to interfere in the organisation of the national committees, which must reflect the diversity of intellectual life in the different countries, we consider it important that these committees should be placed in a position to assist in acting as intermediaries between the International Committee, on the one hand, and the official intellectual authorities of the different countries (ministries, universities, academies, scientific institutions, etc.), on the other.

" (e) In order that there may be regular and effective liaison on these lines, each committee should have a permanent secretariat with which that of the International Committee and the Institute can regularly correspond. Such a secretariat necessitates funds, however small."

We recognise in this brief quotation several of the preoccupations which were reflected in the " suggestions " of 1923.

But something new has been added : the idea of periodical assemblies of the representatives of the national committees.

The reform of 1930 led the Assembly of the League of Nations to devote to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation a resolution which is a sort of corollary of that of 1926.

" The Assembly recognise the existence of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, comprising the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation which is the advisory body of the League of Nations ; the commissions and committees dependent on it ; the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, its executive organ, and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, these two institutes having been placed at the League's disposal under the conditions laid down in their respective statutes ; and the national committees on intellectual co-operation, whose representatives may be called upon to meet occasionally in conference on the proposal of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation."

From 1929 to 1937, there was no general assembly of the national committees ; but the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is to be congratulated for an initiative which may have a favourable and considerable influence on the future of the whole movement of intellectual co-operation : I refer to the practice of inviting each year a number of representatives of national committees to attend the meetings of the International Committee. Thus, from 1933 to 1936, twenty delegations have been invited to the annual sessions of the Committee at Geneva, as follows :

1933 : Denmark, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia.

1934 : Brazil, Bulgaria, Finland, Lithuania, Mexico, Norway.

1935 : Union of South Africa, Iceland, Latvia, Luxemburg.

1936 : Argentine, Belgium, Estonia, Irish Free State, Venezuela.

In the report which he submitted to the Council and to the Assembly in 1933, following the first of these experiments, the eminent rapporteur of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Professor Gonzague de Reynold, said :

" The Committee has always regarded it as essential that the national committees should co-operate in its activities. As, at the present time, financial considerations preclude the possibility of calling a meeting of the representatives of these committees at Geneva, it was decided last year to invite certain of them to take part in the Committee's meetings.

" The reports submitted by these delegates strengthened our conviction that, generally speaking, the work of the national committees is a very real matter. They represent, in respect of intellectual co-operation, and consequently of the League in general, agencies which are indispensable for maintaining contact with the intellectual life of the various countries. In addition to this international importance, they are also of the highest importance nationally as centralising influences.

" This year's experience has been conclusive. The Committee is determined to follow it up at each of its future sessions with a system of rotation which will enable it to reach in turn all the national committees of Europe at least. It may be added that the members of the Committee itself included chairmen of national committees, who were thus able to speak in the name of their respective committees.

" The participation of these five representatives of national committees in the proceedings of the plenary Committee and the interest they took in our activities and achievements is one of the outstanding successes of the present session."

We have noted with keen satisfaction the growing interest with which the national committees have followed the International Committee's work, and we read with great pleasure Professor Gonzague de Reynold's recognition of the value of this participation.

It is generally agreed that the secret of the success of any organisation resides in close relations and reciprocal understanding between the centre and the periphery. In this contact with the International Committee, the national committees are enabled to grasp the universality of culture and the necessity of taking a broader view of their particular problems ; and the International Committee in turn may acquire a keener perception of the concrete significance of problems and guard itself against the natural tendency to the abstract which constitutes a danger for each individual and for every international movement.

Let us now examine the composition and the organisation of the national committees.

The diversity of the national committees is often mentioned, and it must be admitted that they do differ. These differences appear already in their origins. Some of them are official institutions created under the terms of a law or of a decree ; others are due to the initiative of an individual, and others again owe their existence to a learned society, to an academy, to a university and sometimes to the initiative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs or of the Department of Education.

The number of members differs considerably from country to country, varying from five or six to fifty or even a hundred.

The diversity extends, moreover, to many other points. Some committees have a charter, others have none. Many of them have a bureau or executive committee. Several have formed sub-committees. Most of them, fortunately, have a salaried and active permanent secretariat. Some of them meet every month ; many once or twice a year ; a few more rarely.

Finally, some of them limit their activity to serving as an agent for the International Committee ; others, on the other hand, pursue activities of their own, and act on their own initiative, remaining true to the spirit of intellectual co-operation and consistently endeavouring to enable other nations to understand the development of their own culture and of their national individuality.

But it is certain that we ought to profit by the experience of others ; and the systems and plans, the methods of work and the structure of those national committees which have thus far worked best may be adopted and may serve as useful models for newly-created committees.

Another serious problem is that of relations among the national committees.

In commercial exchanges as in cultural exchanges, each nation possesses definite interests and problems with regard to each other nation. Thus far, bilateral relations between the national committees of two nations have been very rare and very irregular, although there exist agreements among certain Governments for the development of reciprocal intellectual relations.

Thus a variety of tasks awaits the activity of the committees. They may seek primarily to foster a reciprocal knowledge of the history and of the mentality of the different nations ; they may endeavour to bring out the common characteristics, the influences exerted or felt, the similarities of evolution ; they may, finally, undertake to provide scientists with the means for carrying out detailed research.

These various tasks may take shape through the work of cultural institutes, through historical, literary and scientific congresses, through exchanges of professors and of students, through bureaux and bulletins of bibliographical information, and through many other means, which develop as the work goes forward.

In addition to bilateral relations between two national committees, relations may be established among several national committees, especially where particular conditions of proximity or of similarity of civilisation, language or culture come into play. I allude here to regional intellectual co-operation, which is to be more fully dealt with by some of my colleagues.

May I be allowed, in this connection, to refer to an enterprise of the Italian Committee's, which undertook to study the correspondence exchanged between Italian humanists and those of all the other countries in which humanism flourished, and which enjoyed the courteous collaboration of the national committees of the countries in question.

We might speak in this connection, not of regions in the geographical sense, but rather of a " region " in the absolute sense of culture and intelligence, which is that which concerns us.

Let us pass on to the relations between the national committees and the International Organisation. Their activity represents the participation of each nation in the International Committee's work. To that end, the definition and division of activity, fixed in advance by the International Organisation, should be accepted by the national committees. On this point, my report coincides with that of my eminent colleague, Professor Focillon.

This working programme, though it embraces and promotes the study of many questions, may be summed up in a number of specific points :

- (1) Scientific study of international relations ;
- (2) Social sciences ;
- (3) Study of the intellectual function of modern means of diffusion (cinema, wireless and the Press) ;
- (4) International collaboration of universities and education ;
- (5) Fine arts (museums, archaeology and history of art, folk arts) ;
- (6) Literature (Ibero-American Collection, Japanese Collection, questions of translation) ;
- (7) Libraries, archives and documentation ;
- (8) Intellectual rights ;
- (9) Exact and natural sciences.

To carry out completely their office as organs of liaison between the International Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the intellectual life of their respective countries, our national committees should of course be so composed as really to represent these essential interests. There is here a problem the importance of which you will readily perceive — namely, that of the adaptation of the national committees to the actual programme of the Organisation.

An excellent method to which various national committees have resorted, and which its simplicity and its effectiveness recommend to our attention, consists in always including in the national committees those citizens of our respective countries whom the Intellectual Co-operation

Organisation appoints to its numerous committees of experts. A measure of this kind, if it were generally applied, would really associate with our work on the rational plane those of our compatriots whom their competence has brought to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation's notice.

In general, I should like to see our national committees more and more play the part of advisory organs of our Governments for questions of intellectual co-operation. I have in mind in particular intellectual agreements, on the one hand, and questions of intellectual co-operation proper on the other, whether they come up in the League of Nations Assembly or elsewhere.

We still have two questions to examine ; the part which our committees might play in making the publications of our organisation better known ; and the question of periodic conferences of the national committees.

Without wishing to encroach on the subject of my eminent colleague, M. Li Yu Ying, I should like to call attention to the good work of the Paris Institute, the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and the two Rome institutes in presenting in attractive and carefully edited publications the results of the international enquiries which they have conducted and the records of the conferences which they have organised.

Our committees display commendable zeal in sending to Paris, Geneva and Rome replies to the many questions which are addressed to them. But these replies are not buried in files by the administrations which I have mentioned ; they put them in order, group them, classify them and eventually publish them in book form.

If, then, we wish to obtain the real reward of our labours, we should not only send in the report for which we are asked, but read the reports and replies of the other countries. All the benefit of intellectual co-operation lies in this exchange, in receiving a return for what one gives. Not to disseminate in our countries the publications of our Organisation is to deprive ourselves of the legitimate profit of our own efforts.

M. Li Yu Ying will tell us of the experiences of the Chinese Committee on this point, and in particular of the difficulties it has overcome, since it has had to face the great obstacle encountered by all international diffusion, that of language.

As regards periodical conferences, several attempts have been made between 1922 and 1937.

The first experiment, carried out in 1933, consisted in inviting all the national committees to attend the meetings of the International Committee. At the time, there were only thirteen committees.

The character of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation would be profoundly modified if a similar system were to be resumed, now that the number of national committees is over forty.

Another system is that of 1929, under which the League of Nations invites and pays the expenses of the representatives of the national committees. There were twenty-eight of them in 1929, and the cost of this meeting was considerable. I fear that the matter of expense will henceforth constitute an insuperable obstacle to the renewal of this experiment.

There is, finally, the system practised since 1933, that of invitations by rotation. It presents great advantages, as I have said and as I repeat, for it associates a small number of delegates of national committees with the work of the International Committee, and affords these delegates an opportunity to survey in a few days the whole field of intellectual co-operation.

There is also the system of the present conference, under which the national committees come together at their own expense. For my part, I see in this plan a fine proof of the vitality of our organisation, a manifestation of autonomy, a first step, energetic and decided, towards the creation of a veritable parliament of the mind.

I hope I am not putting my head in the clouds by an excess of optimism ; but in this contrast of nationalisms, though it is sometimes acute, I believe that I perceive an impulse, rising from the depths of the consciousness of the different nations, towards an equitable agreement, which will give due weight to the various interests, to the distinct needs of each national entity, and will enable them to go forward in peaceful harmony.

I am happy to end my report on this note, and I am certain that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation will be in the forefront of the movement for the realisation of this aspiration.

INTER-AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION : ITS HISTORY, EVOLUTION AND ORGANISATION.

By M. Miguel OZORIO DE ALMEIDA,

Chairman of the Brazilian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

[Point 5, II, A, on the Agenda.]

We do not claim to give an account of all that has been attempted or done in order to bring about intellectual co-operation between the different countries of America. Most of the information on the subject is scattered throughout a great variety of publications — newspapers, reviews, books, ministerial archives, the Minutes of institutes and learned and cultural societies and the reports of Conferences. It would be impossible to give a complete picture in the scope of this report. It is to be hoped, however, that a work may soon be produced covering the whole field. In the present report, we shall confine ourselves to the most important or most characteristic efforts, and we shall then attempt to bring out the main ideas and the outstanding facts.

The evolution of intellectual culture in the American countries has, until comparatively recently, been marked by the almost complete isolation of those countries from one another. They were all, or nearly all, directly connected with Europe ; cultural institutions developed more or less rapidly according to local resources, and very largely according to each country's means of communication with the European continent. For a long time, most of the American countries remained, as was natural, mainly consumers of culture ; they looked to the great centres without feeling the need of strengthening the bonds between themselves. This state of affairs, where each country looked to Europe and disregarded its neighbours, varied according to circumstances. There were certain groups of countries whose general conditions, common interests and identity of language led to more or less active intercourse. But as soon as such factors were reduced by distance or other reasons, practically no intellectual relations existed. Saenz Peña, the delegate of the Argentine Republic at the first Pan-American Conference in Washington in 1889, made the following statement: " The truth is that our knowledge of each other is limited. The Republics of the north of the continent have lived without communications with those of the south or those of Central America. Absorbed, like ourselves, in the development of their own institutions, they have not cultivated closer and more intimate relations with us."

A distinction must therefore be made, though not unduly emphasised, between intellectual relations among individuals of different countries — relations resulting from studies carried out for some reason or other in foreign universities, or the activities of professors or research students going abroad for the purposes of their work — and those cultivated with the more general and conscious object of promoting intellectual co-operation.

The former have always existed, although on a small scale. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, students from neighbouring countries were to be found in various universities in certain Spanish-speaking States of the American continent. Fernando Bolivar, nephew of the great Simon Bolivar, studied in 1872 at the University of Virginia. Naturalists, geographers and geologists from North America have travelled in South America for the purposes of study ; the most famous example of this was Agassiz. But, in such cases, the countries travelled in were, as a rule, themselves the object of the studies undertaken.

Gradually, the Governments of the American countries began to take an interest in the problem of collaboration, especially in the various practical questions of teaching, exchanges of professors and students, and the relative values of the different professional diplomas. The treaty signed between the Argentine and Bolivia in 1868 contains an article dealing with these questions. Their example was followed by other countries which signed similar treaties.

The organisation of inter-American intellectual co-operation, which is continually growing, is due to three main factors :

- (1) The initiative of private associations, with or without active or other support from official institutions or the State ;
- (2) The Pan-American Union and the Conferences held under its auspices ;
- (3) The Governments of the various countries.

For reasons which it is easy to understand, as cultural institutions developed in the American countries — learned societies, societies and academies of literature, history, geography, etc. — the exchange of publications and personal visits made people realise that similar institutions in different countries were working for the same object, and that it would therefore be to their mutual advantage to become better acquainted, and have closer relations with one another. The idea of collective visits by parties of doctors, professors and teachers, men of letters and even of students, took shape, and several such visits were made (some of them being called " caravans "). They are increasing, and it may be said with justification that such visits have proved most useful, both in promoting a better mutual knowledge of the countries concerned, and in helping to form a kind of solidarity and good understanding amongst intellectuals. Some of the main examples are the medical caravans organised in Brazil by Professor Nascimento Gurgel and afterwards in the Argentine by Professor Suarez, the trip to South America of over 200 members of the American College of Surgeons, during which affiliated societies were founded in several countries, a visit by Argentine jurists to Brazil in 1926, and several trips by students (medical, legal, agricultural, veterinary, etc.) receiving financial support from the State in several cases.

In connection with the initiative of private associations, special mention should be made of the part played by the P.E.N. clubs, which, although only recently formed, are developing very rapidly. One of the " Conversations " organised by the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters was held last year in Buenos Aires, at the request of the Argentine P.E.N. Club. The " Conversation " in question was devoted to the intellectual relations between Europe and Latin America. The various Latin-American countries, though treated as forming a whole, were nevertheless able to emphasise their respective characteristics.

There are also exchange institutes, such as the Instituto Argentino-Brasileiro de Cultura, which has a very interesting programme and has already organised visits for intellectuals, and arranged for translations to be made.

Further, there are organisations with international educational objects, like the " Paz pela Escola " at Rio de Janeiro. And, finally, we must mention the numerous international inter-American congresses of the various special branches of learning, organised by societies or by the Pan-American Union.

Besides the activities described above, which are developing somewhat haphazardly, but nevertheless produce important results, there is the work of the great philanthropic foundations (especially those of the United States) upon which special stress should be laid. We propose to say a few words about the " Carnegie Endowment for International Peace " and the " Rockefeller Foundation ".

The essential object of the former being to further the cause of peace, it has very wisely realised that one of the surest means of arriving at such a result is to encourage exchanges between thinking men of different races and countries. It was with this in mind that the "Carnegie Endowment" organised, as far back as 1913, a study tour to South America by Mr. Robert Bacon, a former Secretary of State and Ambassador at Paris. His visit followed that paid in 1906 by the great American statesman, the late Mr. Elihu Root. In 1913, the latter was President of the "Carnegie Endowment" and himself drew up a letter of instructions for Mr. Bacon. In an interview published by the *New York Evening Post* (December 13th, 1913), Mr. Bacon made the following statement: "The object of my visit to South America is to form national societies of international law; to organise affiliated associations of the 'Association de Conciliation internationale de Paris' of which the President and founder is the Baron d'Estournelle de Constant; to organise an exchange of visits of representatives from the Latin Republics to the United States, and from this country to South America, and an exchange of professors and students between their universities and ours." The results of Mr. Bacon's visit were very satisfactory.

The "Carnegie Endowment" continues to be extremely active, especially as regards the study of the most important international problems, which it looks on as questions that are capable of being approached by more positive and scientific methods.

The "Rockefeller Foundation" has done and is doing very remarkable work. It has granted scholarships to a considerable number of students from the other American countries, has given material assistance to scientific and cultural institutions, and, even in the case of its practical activities (health and other campaigns), the work is done in close collaboration by the American technical experts and those of the country where it is carried out. This collaboration in scientific research, the accomplishment of great tasks together, efforts made and difficulties overcome side by side, do indeed form solid bonds, even between men of different countries and tongues.

This is not the place to give a detailed history of the Pan-American Union. We shall however refer to certain points particularly relevant to our subject. The Union is the result of the first International Conference of the American Countries, which was held at Washington in 1889. To start with, its object was simply to co-ordinate commercial and statistical information. In 1889, its organisation was transformed for the first time, and the Executive Committee took on a definitely international character. The first director of the new bureau realised that the services of the Union might be very largely extended, and proposed a general scheme for intellectual *rapprochement*.

The second International Conference of the American Countries, which was held in Mexico in 1901, had already been prepared by the bureau of the Union, and it was then decided that international technical conferences should be held as well as the main conferences. The development in the bureau's activities gave rise to the need for a permanent establishment, and this was made possible in 1910, thanks to a sum of money given by Andrew Carnegie and contributions from the American countries. International conferences were held regularly. In 1906, there was one at Rio de Janeiro, and, in 1910, one at Buenos Aires. It was at the latter that the Bureau was given the definite name of "Pan-American Union".

Between the fourth Conference at Buenos Aires and the fifth, which was held at Santiago (Chile), there was a long interval, the chief cause being the great war. The Santiago Conference was held in 1923. However, it was after the sixth Conference, held in Havana in 1928, that the Pan-American Union organised its activities in connection with intellectual co-operation on a new basis. In the course of the general reorganisation of the Union, a special Co-operation Division was set up (Division X).

The sixth Conference, at Havana, had adopted a resolution that an Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Co-operation be established. When this Institute was being organised in 1930, people wondered what its real significance would be, and whether it might not represent a movement of separation tending towards an independent and exclusively American system of intellectual co-operation, outside the great international movement. A short historical summary of the question may therefore be useful.

In spite of all efforts, mutual knowledge and co-operation between the American countries was far too limited twelve years ago, as it still is to-day. The idea of an active and efficient cultural organisation was in the air, but it only took shape after a vigorous campaign in Brazil led by M. Xavier de Oliveira, who is now a deputy in the Brazilian Federal Chamber. The Press of most of the other American countries gave him support. Professor Austregesilo, in 1926, placed before the Chamber a draft scheme for an Institute for the exchange of university professors; and professors and intellectuals of all American countries gave their unreserved approval to the Brazilian project.

Finally, at the Havana Conference in 1928, the delegate of Uruguay, M. Callorda, proposed that the Institute should be founded. The general rapporteur appointed was the Argentine delegate, M. Garcia Arias.

The resolution passed at the Havana Conference clearly defined the object of the Institute in the following words: "To co-ordinate and systematise the activities establishing intellectual co-operation between the nations of the American continent in science, arts and letters." It decided that the official languages of the Institute should be Spanish, English, Portuguese and French; and it proposed that a general meeting of rectors, principals and educators should be held for the purpose of drawing up the statutes of the Institute.

The Congress of Rectors, Principals and Educators was held at Havana in February 1930. With the exception of the Republic of Honduras, all the American Republics were represented. The Congress decided on the final plan of the Institute, which was subsequently approved by the seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo.

The following main features of the plan may be mentioned. The Institute was to be composed of a Central Inter-American Council of Intellectual Co-operation, and each country was to have a

national council. These national councils were to consist of members designated by the cultural institutions of each country — universities, academies, associations, etc. — but, in countries where there was already a national committee of intellectual co-operation, the latter were to be responsible for establishing co-operation — as had already been done in the case of Mexico and Chile.

The following are some of the main functions of the national councils : to submit suggestions and study problems in connection with intellectual activity ; to co-ordinate information on the subject of university and other intellectual life, and to encourage the exchange of professors and students ; to study the general development of culture in the American countries ; to encourage relations between organisations in the different countries ; and, in general, to establish communication between all the elements of intellectual life in the American countries.

The Central Inter-American Council, composed of the representatives of the national councils, is to study questions put forward by the national councils ; to co-ordinate general information ; to appoint inter-American committees for the study of special questions ; and to keep in touch with institutions and committees of a scientific and cultural character, and with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation ; and to draw up the programmes of the Pan-American scientific congresses. The Congress proposed that the headquarters of the Institute should be at Havana.

At the seventh International Conference of the American Countries at Montevideo in 1933, great progress was made in dealing with questions of intellectual co-operation. The organisation of the Inter-American Institute was approved, with certain technical recommendations, and several important resolutions were passed. These included a Convention concerning the teaching of history and the revision of school text-books, with the suggestion that an Institute should be founded for teaching the history of the American Republics. The Institute in question should not only deal with the development of American historical research, but should also attempt to encourage the study of the history of Spain, Portugal, England and France, and of other countries which are specially interesting from the point of view of American history.

The Convention thus represented an effort to extend the agreement between the Governments of Brazil and the Argentine, which was signed at Rio de Janeiro by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of both countries, M. A. de Mello-Franco and M. Saavedra Lamas, with the object of eliminating from school text-books everything which might tend to create ill-feeling towards other countries. This agreement was adhered to by Uruguay, and a similar Convention was signed between Bolivia and Mexico. At the Montevideo Conference, the representatives of the United States of America, while heartily approving the causes and objects of the Convention, stated that they were unable to sign it, in view of the fact that the Federal Government had no direct authority over the educational organisations. The latter are maintained and administered by the authorities of the various States or municipalities, or even by entirely independent private organisations.

Besides the Convention regarding the teaching of history, the seventh Conference adopted various proposals and recommendations regarding the exchange of works of art, American bibliography and general library catalogues, broadcasting, the protection of historical monuments and the advances made in the study of American civilisations of the pre-Columbian era. Very important work was done at the Conference, and Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, said that it marked the opening of a great new epoch of renewal of the American effort for co-operation " destined to further our material, moral and spiritual welfare, and to build the edifice of a lasting peace ".

The part played by the different Governments in the evolution of inter-American intellectual co-operation has been important, and has taken various forms. Several examples of official action have been mentioned in the preceding pages. International visits and exchanges of professors and students were, in the majority of cases, rendered possible by material and moral assistance on the part of the Governments. For a long time, the Government of Chile granted scholarships to students from other parts of Latin America. Scientific and other congresses have always enjoyed the sympathy of the official authorities — a sympathy which has not been limited to platonic manifestations.

Numerous agreements between different States concerning the exchange of professors and other questions of intellectual co-operation have been signed during the past few years, notably between Brazil and the Argentine (regarding intellectual and artistic exchanges, publications, etc.). Other interesting measures may also be mentioned. For instance, the Argentine Government, by a decree of October 7th, 1936, granted a sum of 8,000 pesos for the purpose of publishing translations of Brazilian works. The Governments of the Argentine and Brazil voted special sums for the best works written in each country about the other.

Moreover, the various Governments avail themselves of every opportunity for developing schemes of co-operation ; and special mention should be made of the decision of the Government of Uruguay to use the resources made available by Brazil's cancellation of an old Uruguayan debt to promote intellectual exchanges between the two countries. In 1934, the countries of Central America drew up a general scheme in which provision was made for an eventual uniform system of all grades of education. Guatemala founded a number of scholarships for students from neighbouring countries, and the other States immediately followed its example. The Central American States are planning the organisation of a " Central American House ".

The active part played by the diplomatic representatives of the various Governments in all questions connected with intellectual co-operation is also worthy of mention.

Finally, as has been seen, the successive conferences of American States have paid continually increasing attention to the question of intellectual co-operation.

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, held recently at Buenos Aires, at which all the American countries were represented, set up a special Committee (VI) to study questions of intellectual co-operation.

That Committee decided to discuss two main groups of problems : intellectual exchanges and moral disarmament. There were rapporteurs for both these subjects : M. Arias Schreiber, the Peruvian delegate, for intellectual co-operation, and M. Benjamin Cohen, the Chilean delegate, for moral disarmament. M. Alf. Reyes, the Mexican delegate, was the general rapporteur at the plenary session of the Conference.

The Conference gave the full weight of its authority to several of the resolutions and recommendations which had previously been adopted at the Inter-American Conferences, and passed certain new resolutions. The Argentine made a recommendation which calls for special mention — namely, that national committees on intellectual co-operation should be formed in all American countries where they did not already exist. We may also mention, the following resolutions passed at the Conference on the following subjects :

- (1) The Convention on Education as an Aid to Peace ;
- (2) The Convention on the development of cultural relations, proposed by the United States, containing practical provisions for the exchange of students and professors between the American countries ;
- (3) The Convention proposed by Peru on the exchange of publications and the formation of special sections in the national libraries of each country for publications from the other American countries, and also a Convention sponsored by the Argentine concerning the formation of Pan-American libraries ;
- (4) The Convention proposed by Chile regarding facilities for educational films ;
- (5) The Chilean proposal concerning the granting of facilities for art exhibitions (a draft Convention on the subject was adopted by the Conference) ;
- (6) The question of the revision of school text-books, raised by Brazil, which led to a recommendation being made to the various Governments that they should adhere to the Argentine-Brazilian Convention and to the Convention adopted at the seventh inter-American Conference, and also to the Declaration of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ;
- (7) The resolutions moved by Chile, Guatemala and Ecuador on broadcasting, together with a recommendation to Governments to adhere to the International Convention of Geneva of 1936 ;¹
- (8) The recommendation made to the Pan-American Union to the effect that at future Inter-American Conferences special attention should be paid to the question of promoting peace throughout the American continent ; in this connection, the Conference also expressed the hope that Committees on Intellectual Co-operation would extend the sphere of their activities with regard to the problems of moral disarmament ;
- (9) The Argentine proposal, to which the Conference agreed, concerning the official organisation of the exchange of official publications containing any matter relating to public education, and the establishment of special reading-rooms for newspapers and periodicals of the American countries ;
- (10) The recommendation concerning the organisation and development of the American Writers' and Artists' Association, which had been started in Havana ;
- (11) The recommendations relating to the protection of intellectual property in America.²

The development of the Boy Scout movement and instruction in moral civics were dealt with in special recommendations.

In addition to private efforts and the work done by the Pan-American Union and the various Governments, the national committees' work calls for mention. It must be acknowledged that these committees have not yet exercised a decisive influence on inter-American intellectual co-operation. They only exist in a limited number of countries : the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Republic of San Salvador, the United States and Uruguay. Some of them were formed so recently that they have not yet had time to do useful work. They have dealt mainly with the study of general problems submitted to them by the International Institute in Paris or the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The national committees are destined, however, to play an increasingly important part in inter-American relations. They are already beginning to establish closer relations amongst themselves and with the Intellectual Co-operation Division of the Pan-American Union.

The idea of inter-American intellectual co-operation was a long time in taking shape and finding acceptance in a clear and definite form. At first, the American States devoted most of their energies to the tasks of social and political organisation and to economic questions. Intellectual activity interested them only in so far as it was necessary for the immediate needs of the country concerned, although more or less isolated examples of individuals of outstanding intellect existed.

¹ The question of broadcasting had already been discussed at the South-American Radio-Communications Conference at Buenos Aires in 1935. That Conference drew up an Agreement which was signed by the delegates of the Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Uruguay.

² The Conference recommends that the Pan-American Union should take whatever steps are necessary for drawing up the final treaty, in accordance with the terms of the resolution passed by the Seventh Conference at Montevideo in 1933. It will be recalled that, in connection with this question, there already exist the Berne Convention and the Pan-American Convention, which was revised in 1928 at Havana. The Pan-American Union set up a special committee under the chairmanship of Senator Antuna. The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris was entrusted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation with the task of studying the question, with a view to bringing the two systems into agreement. Two meetings have already been held, one at Rio de Janeiro in 1935 and the other at Paris in 1936. The question is receiving close attention.

The main object of the *rapprochement* which took place between the different States as life in each country reached a higher level of wealth or intensity was, besides political problems, the solution of commercial and industrial questions. Gradually, however, people began to realise that good understanding in every sphere is primarily based on a good mutual knowledge of one another.

Further, the various American States often have to face similar problems : not only technical problems, but also the great problems of instruction and education, which are all problems presenting their own particular difficulties in the case of new countries where the situation is rendered complex by the mixture of races and the diversity of elements mingled together.

Thus we find tentative efforts of intellectual co-operation starting somewhat at random all over the American continent. Visits, meetings, congresses, general conferences, proposals, recommendations, resolutions — all possible methods were tried one after the other. During the last few years, under the influence of the great organisation set up by the League of Nations, the aims have become much clearer and more conscious.

The first question which arises is whether all the work done so far in America has on the whole been abstract, or whether there are really any positive results with which inter-American intellectual co-operation may be credited. It is really very difficult to reply to such a question. As soon as one tries to judge the value of the results of such work, one realises that no definite criterion exists. It is often impossible to ascribe any given movement of ideas, new mentality, moral attitude or state of mind, to work, studies, conferences or books dating back several years.

One thing is certain ; there is a big difference between the present situation in America and that of forty years ago. Formerly, the problem had not been raised, and things were left to take their course. To-day, in all the countries of America, a growing number of people, not intellectuals alone, but also statesmen and men of every class and profession, are acquainted with the questions belonging to the sphere of what is known as intellectual co-operation, and, what is better still, wish these problems to be faced and dealt with. The need is felt for mutual assistance, support, collaboration, common effort, fuller knowledge and that co-ordination which eliminates useless work. The necessity for intellectual co-operation has emerged from the dark and hazy regions of the subconscious into the light of the collective consciousness. At the present time, intellectual co-operation is recognised as being very important by persons of influence, institutions, Conferences, Governments, and, to a certain extent, by everybody. All this represents a remarkable advance.

Once people have become aware of these problems, as seems to us now to be definitely the case, certain questions naturally arise : What will be the means of action of inter-American co-operation ? What are, and what should be, its advisory and supervisory bodies ? What is its true significance as *inter-American co-operation*, and what are and what should be its relations with the international bodies ?

In theory, intellectual co-operation should make use of any means of action which are ready to hand, or would appear to be the natural ones : the Press, learned societies, universities and the established official or private institutions. But there is no doubt that each country should possess a liaison organisation, or co-ordinating centre, which could also act as an executive or advisory body. That is the natural function of the national committees. As has been seen, in a good many American countries, these committees have not yet been organised. It is to be hoped that the recommendation of the Buenos Aires Conference will bear fruit.

Might it not also be as well to study rather more closely the principles governing the organisation of these committees ? In America, as elsewhere, a certain diversity is noticeable. In some countries, the committee is an entirely official body with members appointed by the Government. In others, it is the result of private initiative, although it is composed of people well known in public life or occupying official positions. Both systems present certain drawbacks and certain advantages.

The official committees are always more or less directly dependent on the Government, which means that their freedom of thought is to a certain extent restricted. The inevitable fluctuations of the country's national or international policy may have an effect on the nature of the committee's work. The supreme aim of intellectual co-operation is to work in the cause of culture regardless of passing considerations of the moment.

On the other hand, the complete independence of the committee deprives it of the powerful means of action at the disposal of the Government.

The ideal plan would perhaps be to organise the committees as independent bodies as far as ideas and objects were concerned, but in close connection with the Government, and with representatives of the chief administrative departments (Foreign Affairs, Education, Labour, etc.) as *ex officio* members. That is the principle adopted by the French Committee, to a large extent by the United States Committee, and recently by the Brazilian Committee which has just been reorganised. In Brazil there is close collaboration between the committee and the Government ; the Secretary-General of the committee is the head of the Intellectual Co-operation Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The Brazilian Government also has an official delegate at the International Institute in Paris, who acts as representative of the national committee as well.

Our experience in Brazil has given us every satisfaction, and we are happy to note that the work of the committee has so far always received support, approval and even collaboration from the Government.

In large federal countries, like Brazil, the national committee has too heavy a task. Distances, and the autonomy of the different States, give rise to special conditions, and we have to study

problems of co-operation within the country itself. The Federal capital, though itself the most important centre, cannot neglect the great possibilities offered by the States if they are connected with each other as well as with the centre. That consideration led us to suggest that a sub-committee should be formed in each State capital. One has already been formed in the State of São Paulo, and steps are being taken to achieve similar good results in the other States.

The organisation of the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Co-operation raises interesting problems. It will be recalled that, at the time of its formation, there were signs of apprehension amongst members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ; references were even made to a separatist movement. It is very difficult to see clearly in such matters, and we do not know whether, even in America, there are many people capable of making a clear statement on the subject. In America, there is, on the whole, a tendency towards unity, towards a general organisation of mutual support. People wish to be able to speak of an American spirit and an American culture, just as one speaks of a European spirit and a European culture.

In America, as in Europe, it is impossible to ascribe a definite meaning to such expressions. They deal with things which can be felt, rather than expressed in words. There are profound differences between the various American countries, just as there are great dissimilarities between the different countries of Europe. But that does not prevent there being, in both cases, innumerable points in common behind all these differences or dissimilarities. The points which the American countries have in common and which belong to them alone, certainly form the moral and spiritual basis of inter-American co-operation.

But we do not believe that the Inter-American Institute was founded with any idea of isolation or separation. Although the practical activities of the new organisation have so far been very limited, we need only recall the fact it was recommended that the national councils be constituted by the national committees themselves. As these committees are largely international in character and are connected with the main International Committee of the League of Nations, that recommendation in itself shows how closely the movement which resulted in the formation of the Institute was connected with the general organisation. We may presume that when dealing with important questions of universal interest, the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Co-operation will work in close collaboration with the Paris Institute and the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

It is, moreover, one of the tasks of the Central Council of the Institute to establish such connections. The Institute is especially interested in settling practical questions : the exchange of professors, students, publications, etc. The question might be raised whether it will not duplicate work done by other organisations notably the Pan-American Union. Experience alone will show what is the best course for the future.

We may conclude that inter-American co-operation, which is still feeling its way, and is still in its initial stages, forms one particular section of the whole movement of international intellectual co-operation. It has already produced considerable results, and is busy investigating methods and new means of action. Its aim is to work for the progress and development of everything relating to the intellectual and moral life of America, but it is, at the same time, always clearly conscious of the fact that such progress forms an integral part of the progress of the whole human race. Its first task is to carry out extensive studies and a great amount of preparatory work. Like the growing branch of a tree, attached to the parent trunk, it is trying to put into practice in our continent those profound and noble ideas which are at the root of international co-operation.

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN AMERICA AND EUROPE.

By M. Antonio AITA,

General Secretary of the Argentine National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

[Point 5, II, B, on the Agenda.]

At the Buenos Aires " Conversation ", various cultural questions were debated and it was possible to distinguish some of the converging roads that would probably be followed by the development of American culture in its relations with that of the rest of the world.

What can our continent contribute to this vital problem, the solution of which is engaging the attention of the most enlightened thinkers of our time ? There can be no question here of resorting to pompous language to vaunt the " autochthonal " character of our culture. That idea has led many minds to advocate a policy of isolation as a remedy for our political errors, and has turned the thoughts of our writers towards a local tradition. If it provides the elements demanded by culture, the revival and glorification of a tradition may have fruitful consequences in a period of crisis such as we are now experiencing. The mission devolving upon writers in America has been sufficiently discussed — and not always pertinently. Writers have been made to appear as heroes and as martyrs. In reality, their responsibilities are very considerable, but their task consists essentially in devoting themselves wholeheartedly to the analysis of the social and moral realities around us, in order to arrive at that profound sense of truth which gives intellectual work a universal character.

The Buenos Aires " Conversation " served to define the " atmosphere " of our culture, and all who are concerned with the destiny of intellectual activity will benefit by the exchange of views that took place. Furthermore, it will have shown that the collaboration of the American peoples is indispensable if what is being sought is the unity of culture.

In all fields, collaboration is founded on mutual knowledge. As long as we continue to live in a state of sullen isolation, in ignorance of the work accomplished by other nations in the sphere of technique and intellectual research, such co-operation will be confined within narrow limits and remain ineffective. The cultural efforts made by the American nations may constitute a notable contribution to the study of the problems connected with intellectual venture. For those countries which are not affected by complex political and social problems and which study the crisis through which the Old World is passing all the more thoroughly, the psychological aspect of these questions seems to offer countless possibilities.

Knowledge of the work accomplished by nations such as ours, with their fertile imagination, with a population spread over such a vast expanse of territory and with curiosity continually on the alert, not to mention what they represent economically and from the point of view of material wealth, can constitute the most valuable asset for a deeper understanding, an understanding that is indispensable if the expression of human thought, on which any form of concerted activity is based, is to become universal.

Many near-sighted thinkers blindly persist in their policy of "America for the Americans", thereby replying with paltry provincialism to the attitude of indifference which Europeans adopted towards us for many years. It is obvious that it would be to our mutual interest to establish contacts which only culture can render fruitful and productive.

The best way to establish co-operation at the present moment would be to broaden the outlook so as to permit of a thorough and direct knowledge of our continent, which Europe has viewed with a certain coldness. Even if the culture possessed by men of this hemisphere has been of the most superficial character, we have always been very fully informed on European problems. The American mind responds very readily to all idealistic enterprises. Atavistically of a romantic nature and imbued with a noble spirit of disinterestedness, which the covetousness of so many adventurers who *populated* and *depopulated* the New World failed to disturb, the American is guided towards disinterested activities by his personal curiosity or simply by his instinctive generosity.

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation can pursue its great cultural enterprise by combining its work of diffusion and its world-wide action with the efforts of American institutions, teachers and writers. These efforts manifest themselves in a sphere that has not yet reached that high standard at which the significance and power represented by intellectual activity in social life assume their full critical value. The Institute would thus see its influence expand, and it would serve the cause of real intercourse, without which all action loses its force and human value.

A constructive and well-thought-out plan of co-operation between America and Europe would arrange in the first place to make known the experiments in scientific research carried out by a large number of specialists in official and private institutes; it would also show the educational influence they are exerting by emphasising the efforts made by Governments to develop secondary, technical and university teaching; lastly, it would encourage the translation of the literary works of contemporary authors.

Furthermore, the moral and political development of our continent and its influence on world economic life deserve to awaken interest and curiosity which would lead to its culture becoming better known.

PART PLAYED BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES IN MAKING KNOWN IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES THE ACTIVITIES OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION.

By M. Li Yu Ying,

*President of the National Academy, Peiping;
Member of the Executive Committee of the Chinese National Committee
on Intellectual Co-operation.*

[Point 5, II, C, of the Agenda.]

The second General Conference of National Committees of Intellectual Co-operation has been good enough to ask me to present a report on the part that these committees can play in making known the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in their own countries. I am most happy to have the privilege of submitting my report to you on this question.

The need for international co-operation is, indeed, making itself more and more urgently felt with the steady progress that is being made in the different branches of modern science. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation fully deserves the congratulations addressed to it for the work which it has so actively pursued and which has yielded such satisfactory results. We — the national committees — have the right and duty to give the International Organisation our fullest support in all its undertakings, and, in particular, we should make every endeavour to bring to the knowledge of every country the work it is doing in the cause of intellectual co-operation.

The love of research in the quest for truth is a characteristic feature of human nature, and indeed the spirit of solidarity is always to be found amongst human beings. It is for this reason that civilisation and the sciences should not and cannot have any frontiers or nationality; for example, the exact sciences and the natural sciences, by their very character, make no distinction between nationalities, and whereas the social sciences themselves were formerly studied on a national basis and in manner that seemed to have no issue, they now form the subject of research organised on an international footing. Each country has its traditions, its genius and its individual

culture. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has on many occasions recognised the diversity of civilisation, a diversity which as a matter of fact enriches the common heritage of mankind. It is this multiformity of civilisation that renders intellectual co-operation necessary.

Between the International Organisation and each nation, the agency of the national committees is of primary importance, particularly for making known the Organisation's activities in each country. To study the rôle of the national committees in this respect is, in our opinion, to approach a complex and varied problem, which depends very much on the circumstances, the events and the peculiar situation of each country. We shall endeavour to give you a few examples of the work which is accomplished through the agency of the national committees in certain countries and which, it would seem, could under present conditions be easily generalised.

Example 1. — Publications.

Publications intended to make known the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should be more widely distributed to institutions and to intellectual and scientific circles. If necessary, arrangements could be made to have these publications translated into the language of the country, and to prepare works on the International Organisation, its aims and its activities ; when the opportunity arises, articles on co-operation would be written for the daily and periodical Press. That is what the Chinese National Committee is trying to do (see the booklet : " The Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ", published in Shanghai, 1937, pages 18 to 21).

Example 2. — Exchange of Missions of Experts.

National experts sent on definite missions to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should, on returning to their country, submit reports to intellectual circles showing the results they obtained ; similarly, the International Organisation might arrange to send a few experts to each country for the purpose of special studies or to carry out definite missions.

Example 3. — Conferences.

Conferences and " Conversations " have been held in various towns and capital cities of Europe, at which eminently qualified experts and scholars have assembled, under the auspices on the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, to exchange their views and to offer their suggestions of scientific value for the promotion of intellectual co-operation. We think these meetings constitute an effective means for making known the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation's work, but we should be glad to see this practice extended as soon as circumstances permit, so that these assemblies may in due course be held fairly often in America or in the Far East. On this occasion, the International Committee has set a good example by convening its plenary session this year in Paris ; we hope that next year it will meet in some other city — Washington, for example — and, in the near future, Nanking. We think that the National Committees might also take the initiative in organising conferences on different scientific subjects, at which the savants and experts of their own country, or even of foreign countries, would be invited to study certain definite questions.

Example 4. — Founding of University Chairs and Exchanges of Professors.

The founding of professorial chairs with a view to the teaching of international relations and co-operation is a good method of preparing the *élite* of the young generations. The appointment of the professors chosen for these chairs could form the subject of an exchange agreement between the different countries directly interested.

Example 5. — Student Exchanges.

In China, we have for some time past been sending scholarship students to Europe and America. Furthermore, under the sponsorship of our national committee, we have founded an International School at Shanghai, modelled on that at Geneva, and we have even sent young Chinese students to the Geneva International School, by way of experiment, for the purpose of training the mind of the rising generation. In our opinion, the sending of young students to study abroad is one of the best means of arriving at mutual international understanding, and the most valuable instrument of propaganda for the promotion of intellectual co-operation. We therefore urge the General Conference of National Committees to encourage these exchanges of students between nations.

In concluding our report, we should like to take this opportunity of expressing our opinion and of formulating a few suggestions : It would seem that, up to the present, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has devoted its attention chiefly to the work of co-ordination needed in the different fields of intellectual activity. In that direction, a sound and very adjustable basis has ingeniously been created ; what has been done is worthy of unanimous approval, and the uninterrupted success of these efforts proves that the Organisation is on the right road.

Nevertheless, the international Organisation has a supreme mission to fulfil, which is indicated by its title — namely, to foster intellectual co-operation.

Consequently, in addition to this work of co-ordination, we feel that, sooner or later, a step forward will have to be made towards more constructive co-operation, to intensify the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation so as to further the progress of world civilisation. We think that the best means of ensuring constructive co-operation would be to strengthen the position of the national committees and to entrust them with certain missions of real co-operation,

such as deserve to be examined here at this second General Conference. By way of example, we would suggest that the national committees should be allowed to play the part of :

- (1) Intellectual and scientific information centres ;
- (2) " Clearing houses " for intellectual and scientific works ;
- (3) Exchange bureaux for the placing of intellectual workers.

If our opinion and the suggestions I have just outlined are favourably received by the General Conference, the bonds and relations between the national committees and the International Organisation will need to be strengthened. The best way to give publicity to the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation would be, first of all, to further its work in the direction of constructive co-operation, and then to carry out this work on the national plane through the intermediary of the national intellectual co-operation committees. In this way, the existence of the national committees would be justified by real and practical work that would convince sceptically minded intellectuals of its value. Once the intellectuals of a country have been convinced, there will be no difficulty in gaining the support of the general public.

Would not this be the most appropriate way of making known, on the national plane, the activities pursued by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation ? And would it not greatly facilitate the task of the national committees ?

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION AND THE MUTUAL EXCHANGE OF CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN NATIONAL CULTURES.

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-(Report submitted by the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.)

[Point 5, II, D, of the Agenda.]

I. INTRODUCTION.

Various kinds of answers may possibly be given from a professional standpoint to the question of what is the really effective method of intellectual co-operation and mutual exchange of characteristics between national cultures. But those answers will be ultimately reducible to two descriptions, one universal and the other particular.

It will be admitted that the universal method is necessary as well as convenient, since it is applicable alike to every kind of intellectual co-operation and exchange of characteristics between various national cultures. On the contrary, the particular method, though lacking in universality, is effective in the very fact that it displays particularity. It seems that nothing will be said about the former except by persons of extensive knowledge and long experience, while an opinion of some kind can be expressed about the latter by anyone, not necessarily of any extensive knowledge and long experience, who is studying a definite subject with interest, enthusiasm and sincerity.

Though the present writer is superficial in knowledge and experience, he can set forth some opinions on the question in hand as far as it is concerned with the history of the cultural development of the Japanese folk¹ — especially with its ancient history, in the study of which he is at present engaged. In my opinion, the history of culture, since it studies the development of the life-mode of a certain folk, must aim chiefly at demonstrating how that life-mode differs from that of other folks. In other words, the principal object of the study of folk history must be to grasp the specific features of the culture of a certain folk.

Since there is no folk which does not belong to mankind, there is no development of folk culture, apart from the assumption of the evolution of mankind. And the science which studies the evolutionary process of mankind is called anthropology, which, in striking contrast to folk history aims chiefly at grasping the similarity of mankind, as it considers mankind as a whole. Thus it comes about that anthropology is to folk history what the whole is to the part.

If so, we must admit that anthropology is inclusive of folk history and that the latter is a part of the former. Therefore those two sciences, though differing in their primary objectives, must depend upon each other in order to attain their respective objects. That is to say, anthropology must endeavour to catch the similarity of mankind, and folk history its specific peculiarities.

¹ In this essay, I have used the words "folk" and "nation" almost synonymously, but, strictly speaking, their connotations are different. "Nation" connotes a people who are under the rule of an organised State and does not necessarily mean that it is composed of people of the same race or possessing a common culture. In contrast to this, "folk" connotes a single State, a single people, and a single culture. In the last analysis, what Dr. Spränger means by "folk" is "Geburtsnation", "Kulturnation" or "Staatsnation", or a people who combine all of these three features.

The recognition of peculiarities, however, is preceded by the recognition of similarity, so that the anthropological notion is a pre-requisite to the study of folk history. In other words, in order to obtain a knowledge of the cultural differences of a certain folk from other folks it is necessary to be first acquainted with the cultures of those folks, while, for a knowledge of the cultures of those folks, it is necessary to first know the evolution of the life-mode of the whole of mankind. Now in this sense, I should like to give my opinion upon the question of intellectual co-operation and exchange, chiefly from the two aspects of anthropology and cultural history of the Japanese people.

II. THE THREE GREAT FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS AWAITING SOLUTION BY INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

To begin with, I shall speak of co-operation :

(1) The Solution of the Three Great Questions of Anthropology : The first task which necessitates the co-operation of the scholars of the world is to solve the important questions of anthropology which arise in at least three directions.

A. *Monogenism or Polygenism?*

Is mankind monogenetic or polygenetic ? If we believe in " monogenism " concerning the ancestry of mankind, we arrive at an insistence that all men in the world are brothers and that the nations must co-operate with one another to work for the integration of human evolution. But if polygenism is the right view, we cannot assert in a strict sense that " all men in the world are brothers " or " all men in the world form one family ", since the white race differs, in its very origin, from the yellow and black races. All we can do then is to insist upon the equal and loving care of the coloured races from a philanthropic standpoint akin to that which opposes the ill-treatment of animals.

But if we once assert, as we do, that *Homo aethiopicus*, *Homo mongolicus* and *Homo caucasicus* are divergences from a " common precursor " and therefore that these races constitute one " recent man ", a transformation of what is scientifically termed " *Homo sapiens* ", then " all men in the world do form ", in the proper sense of the word, " one family ", and " all men in the world are ", as in fact they are, " brothers ". I believe that the dislike, rejection and persecution of alien races is a fallacy resulting mostly from a polygenetic standpoint, but it is unfortunately true that the discriminative treatment of the coloured races openly prevails in the so-called " civilised countries " and is even enforced by the laws of the rising nations which make liberty and philanthropy their national ideals.

This is extremely irrational and unscientific from the monogenetic viewpoint concerning the ancestry of mankind. But even to-day, some anthropologists believe in polygenism. For instance, the Klaatschean school insists upon " diphyletic theory ", and recently Dr. F. G. Crookshank published his opinion, akin to trigenism, by pointing, from palaeontological and pathological standpoints, to the affinity between Grimaldi skulls, negroes and gorillas, between Chancelade skulls, Mongoloids and orang-utans, and between Cromagnon skulls, Caucasians and chimpanzees. Polygenism of such nature often leads to racial prejudice.

Academic circles have not yet decided in the strict sense of the word which theory is true. If the evolutionary theory is true and therefore monogenism is credible, polygenism is less acceptable in theory than monogenism. It may be that such a question is yet too lacking in sufficient material for scientific solution. But it will be necessary for us to contrive to make a step, however slight, towards its solution by asking the opinions entertained by anthropologists throughout the world.

B. *The Spontaneous Generation Theory or the Cultural Diffusion Theory?*

In connection with what I have mentioned above, there is a related question as to whether the culture of a certain locality is spontaneously generated or whether it is diffused from other localities. The " spontaneous generation theory " seems to prevail to-day pretty widely, while on the contrary there is quite a respectable number of those who insist upon the " cultural diffusion theory ". While the former theory is acceptable to egoistic scholars of narrow views, the latter is perfectly credible to scientific scholars who have a broad outlook on the world and who are prepared to sacrifice their egoistic views in the cause of truth.

Great contributions were made to the " diffusion theory " by Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, formerly professor of anatomy in the University of London, who died at the beginning of this year. Various books on cultural anthropology, published by him and others of his school such as the works which insist upon monogenism concerning cultural origins by reference to ships, shells, elephant designs and megaliths, must be specified as having made the races of the world believe to some extent in cultural monogenism and thereby to entertain the idea that " all men in the world form one family " and " all men in the world are brothers ".

The "cultural diffusion theory" has been subject to considerable misunderstanding and therefore has not yet been fully established. But when we go into deep study of certain techniques, implements, and works of art, we arrive at the "diffusion theory", insisting that those are connected with one another, A with B, and B with C, and that the world is ultimately one. In other words, we arrive at "cultural monogenism".

I, who am chiefly studying ancient Japanese ships, cannot help admitting more clearly as I advance, that the ships of the world started from one common origin. I think the world must contain a large number of persons who have had the same experience as mine. Therefore if we ask the opinions of the scholars of the world upon the question of the singularity or plurality of cultural origins, as that of the ancestry of mankind and ask them to offer, as much as possible, the grounds of their arguments, we will be sure to see the first ray of hope for the solution of the matter. If the propriety and validity of the "cultural diffusion theory" be once recognised, the morality of the love of fellow men will make a step farther in the direction of laying a firm foundation for the solution of ethical problems, especially those of international concern.

C. *The Conflict Theory or the Co-operation Theory?*

In the third place, I can enumerate a still more fundamental question. It is a question concerning the cause of evolution — whether the evolution of organic life, and consequently that of mankind, is based on conflict or on co-operation. The philanthropic notions which had long prevailed throughout the world were undermined by the deep-rooted "conflict theory" underlying the historical conception of Karl Marx and his school, and a marked tendency has been observed to explain the process of economic evolution in the world's history by the principle of class strife. This tendency has given rise to a number of political movements. It finally results in the conclusion that imperialism, militarism, anarchism, communism and other "isms", though differing in their designations, are all ultimately based upon this "conflict theory" in their tendency to consolidate the power of wealth and arms among certain races for the oppression and subjection of other races. But we regard the "conflict theory" as a mere prejudice resulting from the misunderstanding of the "struggle for existence" theory of Darwin. Of course there have been some scholars who have pointed out the falsehood of the theory, such as Kropotkin who insisted that evolution was chiefly caused by mutual aid — viz., co-operation for existence.

But the common thought of the races is unconsciously caught in its own trap made by the powerful notion of struggle for existence, based upon the conflict theory. But a strict investigation will immediately show that conflict is never the true cause of evolution, but is only one of its motive forces. In the history of all living things, to say nothing of mankind, everyone must definitely admit that the security of groups has rested upon mutual co-operation, which is the very cause of evolution. To-day the races of the world are laying emphasis, from a racialistic standpoint, on mutual combination and co-operation — a course of action clearly based on the co-operation theory.

But turning our eyes to the relation of a race to other races who are independently carrying out their own combination and co-operation, we find that they repel and reject each other, never striving for mutual combination and co-operation. They say plausible things, but mean to defeat each other at any cost. This will clearly be regarded as the principle of the "conflict theory" put into practice.

While some insist that there is no reason why we must think of evolution as starting from a single cause, and that conflict is one of the causes of evolution, just as co-operation is, a strict observation will immediately reveal that evolution in the true sense of the word is based upon co-operation. But even now the "conflict theory" rules the world, where the "co-operation theory" is thought of as a dreamer's ideal. Therefore the countries of the world are solidly intent on military preparations and have not the wherewithal to spend on cultural institutions established for the sake of peace. Notwithstanding the full recognition, hardly more than ten years ago, of the miserable result of the war, various countries are absorbed in the renewal of preparations for war.

If the races of the world could understand more deeply and definitely that the cause of the evolution of mankind has been co-operation, they would be able to alleviate somewhat the present tendency to give themselves up to the realisation of the "conflict theory". It is incumbent on anthropologists to strive, at this time, for the definite solution of the question — whether evolution originates from conflict or co-operation. It should not necessarily prove impossible to dispel all doubts by inviting, investigating and criticising the opinions of the scholars of the world and affording them opportunity for a full discussion.

The three questions above mentioned are interrelated with one another. The co-operation of the scholars of the world will offer various methods of solving those great questions. We can look forward to achieving the purpose in view either by writings, conferences or debates. I think these three questions are fundamental and that it is the duty of anthropologists to co-operate for their solution, which is a matter of urgent necessity for the bringing of peace and relief to the world.

III. THE FOUR MINOR ACTIVITIES REQUIRING CO-OPERATION.

(2) In the next place, we can enumerate as minor activities requiring co-operation the four items of (a) joint study, (b) joint travel, (c) joint translation and (d) joint publication.

A. *Joint Study.*

Joint study has been hitherto carried on, though on extremely rare occasions and mostly by means of division of labour. Hereafter the joint investigation of precisely the same subject must be inaugurated. Familiarity makes things less strange, and it sometimes happens that we take less care of things connected with our own countries; as the proverb says: "The beacon does not shine on its own base." Strangeness excites our curiosity, and our attention is turned to alien things because of their unfamiliarity, in virtue of which they give many opportunities of making discoveries and inventions.

We hope that, if possible, scholars engaged in the study of the same subject will go to one another's country to pursue joint study. The united action of nations is, as everyone knows, remarkably effective in ethnographical, especially folkloric, investigations. When the late Dr. Frederick Starr formerly professor of anthropology in the University of Chicago, made his first visit to Japan, I walked about Tokio with him several times, and took him to see the great festival of the Hommonji Temple at Ikegami. Everything seemed strange to him. The Japanese food, clothing, habitations, music and dancing — there was nothing which did not interest him.

As I was then not deeply veiled in learning and was much engaged in work, I could not show him properly over the city. Yet I put before him a good many subjects of study, though of small importance. For instance, when he ate Japanese food at Asakusa, he saw for the first time the Japanese chopsticks and said, laughing, "This is strange. While we know by the five prongs of our fork that it originated in our fingers, the Japanese chopsticks consist of only two sticks. Does it mean that the chopsticks originated in two hands or that they resulted from the omission of three out of five fingers? If the latter is the case, is it progression or retrogression?"

Then he asked me, "Is there any other country than Japan where two bamboo chopsticks are used?" Hearing me reply, "In Manchuria, and probably in China, those are used", he conjectured: "Then the chopsticks must have come from China or from Manchuria." I promptly answered, "No, that is not true on linguistic grounds. Since Hashi in Japanese is, as in the case of 'Hashi' (or 'bridge'), 'Kuchibashi' (a corruption of 'Kuehi-hashhi', or 'beak') and 'Hashhi' (or 'Chopsticks'), the name given to what connects A and B, chopsticks will more properly be regarded as implements peculiar to Japan." Then he answered with deep admiration that the research into the origin of chopsticks is of great interest, as if he was secretly expecting me to do the work.

Though we have long been aware from the books on anthropology and archaeology of the fact that megalithic structures exist in Europe, we had been under the impression that there was nothing of that kind to be found in Japan. One day I visited the late Noel Peri and asked him if there was anything like Japanese ships in India and China. He told me that the matter had not come under his notice, but that at every crossway in the rural districts of Japan, there stands a stone, as there probably did even in Tokyo in the Edo Period, which seemed to him a decadent version of the European menhir.

Indeed, in a Japanese village a slender and tall hewn or natural stone is even now to be seen standing either at a turn of the road or at the entrance to the village. "Chigan" in the proximity of the city of Kagoshima, "Ishiganto" in the Okinawa Islands, etc. are examples of stones of this kind sharpened in the shape of bayonet points. These pointed shapes originally constituted the upper parts of rectangles, that is to say, the pentagons, which were formed, like amulets or the Japanese "noshi", to indicate something sacred or magical and which originated probably in the narrow tablets called "Kuei", in ancient China. Those "Kuei" seem to be also derived from the Sumerian Blau Monument. Suggestions such as these come to us in greater numbers through co-operative study with foreigners.

B. *Joint Travels.*

Joint travel is after all a kind of joint study and involves nothing more than the transference of the work from seminary rooms to the fields, with still more profitable results. Since our travels in foreign countries often cause us inconvenience resulting from the difference of language, manners and customs, it is advisable for us to invite native scholars to travel with us as often as possible. Then we can investigate even detailed points which would otherwise escape our notice, in this way facilitating the accomplishment of the purposes of our study. Even if we are in a position to employ interpreters, we cannot fully rely on them, for their amateur explanations, though not intentionally untruthful are permeated by mistakes and superficiality.

After all, it is best to go in company with scholars of good expert knowledge. Especially in cases where our language is not understood, we are apt to be entrapped by misunderstandings and fallacies. For the collection of foreign modes of verbal expression, songs and musical phrases,

joint travel with natives is especially indispensable. The errors which are of most frequent occurrence in the descriptions given of Japan by foreigners turn on the designation of things, and consist in the mispronunciation of vowels and the ending of words with consonants. There are very few consonant endings in the Japanese language.

A number of errors are found also in intonation and in long pronunciation. These are errors resulting from the lack of joint travels. There are no less numerous errors in the accounts of the histories of shrines, temples, etc. The confusion of tradition with history often occurs, a defect which can be avoided by travel in company with scholars. The fact that the illuminating results of joint travel enure to the benefit not only of the visiting travellers, but also of the scholars who accompany them makes it impossible to deny the mutual advantages of joint travel. Also for the purpose of preventing misunderstandings of our own country on the part of foreigners, joint travel with them is a necessity. It is a matter of national courtesy, as well as national advantage, to travel in company with foreign scholars. It is desirable for us to put it in practice at whatever cost.

C. *Joint Translation.*

This work is the most easy and effective of all modes of intellectual co-operation. It is necessary in two departments, one being the translation of classics, the other that of scientific books. Of course those two kinds of translation have both been practised before. But translation has produced less satisfactory results in Japan than in European countries, since the translation of works written in a language so different from those of other countries as Japanese is not an easy matter.

(a) Though the translation of classics is especially important to a knowledge of the origins and characteristics of folk cultures, it has hitherto been carried out in a comparatively simple fashion by the employment of assistants, resulting in a crop of decidedly funny translations. To take one Japanese example, the latter half of a poem from the "Hyakunin-isshu" or "The Hundred Poems by one Hundred Poets", which runs "Well ('Mubé') it is said, mountain winds are called storms", is taken to mean "The winds of Mount Mubé are called storms." The latter translation is unintelligible.

It is probable that joint translation will never give rise to such misunderstandings. The English translations of "Kojiki" by Chamberlain and "Nihongi" by Aston are accurate. While the former with its copious notes will impart a satisfactory understanding to the foreign reader, the latter appears to some disadvantage. The former is rendered so as to resemble the original even in its tones, while no great pains of this kind seems to have been taken over the latter. Proficiency in a language alone is never enough for the translation of classics. Only co-operation between specialist scholars and linguists in both countries and foreigners belonging to the country whose language is to be translated can produce really brilliant, correct and reliable translations of classics.

The translation of ancient poetry is especially difficult in cases where we must look not only for accuracy of meaning but for reproduction of tune and rhythm as well. Therefore, in such cases, it will be well to have musicians take part in the work whenever possible. In Japanese poetry where the forms are beautified by the number of syllables employed, there seems, at first sight, to be no necessity for intonation and rhyme. But the rhythm alone is never of itself sufficient for the true appreciation of poetry. It is imperative to modulate the melody of the verse by means of alliteration, rhyme and the like. It is a work of considerable difficulty to convey intonations from one language to another. We must assuredly look for the above-mentioned co-operation between specialist scholars, linguists and musicians of both countries. But has our attention been in fact directed to that point?

I heard recently that an English translation of the *Manyōshū* is being undertaken in Japan, and I am greatly interested in the results. On the other hand, one of my acquaintances recently translated into Japanese an English translation of the Finnish "Kalevala", probably with respectable results, since he is deeply versed in music, especially in the symphony. That the Japanese poems and *hokku*, translated without difficulty by the late Lascadio Hearn who truly understood Japan, are vaguely transfused with a characteristic Japanese fragrance is due to the fact that his wife was a Japanese lady who co-operated with him in the work.

(b) In the second place, the translation of scientific books is practised under less difficult conditions than is the case with the translation of classics, and is better accomplished perhaps by co-operation between specialist scholars from both countries wherever possible, and by co-operation between these scholars and the original authors when these latter are living.

This can be easily put in practice. I promised Sir Grafton Elliot Smith to translate into Japanese his recent trilogy, "In the Beginning", "The Diffusion of Culture", and "The Search for Man's Ancestors", of which I have completed one volume only. I had not yet published it when I heard of his death and could not contain my sympathetic feelings. When he retired from office in the University of London on account of illness and went to Queen Mary's Hospital, he once wrote to me that the Hungarian translation of his "In the Beginning" had already been published and asked me if my Japanese translation had not yet been accomplished. I regret to think that I made such slow progress in my Japanese translation of his work and could not dedicate it to him during his lifetime, because I intended to translate it in such an enthusiastic, faithful and accurate way as to merit the title of a literal translation. This is not actual "joint translation", but I believe it is akin to that.

D. *Joint Publication.*

In the last place, I should like to deal with the subject of joint publication. We cannot publish professional books unless we are in possession of large pecuniary resources because such works have only a small circulation. And we who speak a national language such as Japanese, the use of which is confined within narrow limits, are apt to write in most cases in a foreign language for the sake of general convenience. Therefore these books have no great sale, so that their publication becomes more difficult.

To offer them for sale by extensive advertisement abroad requires the control of considerable funds, and moreover even to write them in a foreign language torments us with extreme trouble and difficulty. Actually I have been writing and publishing since 1916 a series entitled "A Study of the Ancient Ships of Japan", but I have been confronted with many difficulties in spite of subsidies granted by the Society of Naval Architects in Tokio. I think my burden would be lightened a good deal if such societies throughout the world were to publish my work in co-operation in order to assist the enterprise. Works written in such languages as English, French and German, which have a large circulation and wide distribution can secure a comparatively large number of readers, while in the case of books written in such a language as Japanese, joint publication — i.e., the co-operation of other countries with ours with a view to facilitating our publications — is desirable.

IV. THE MUTUAL EXCHANGE OF CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN NATIONAL CULTURES.

In the next place, I should like to give an outline of my opinion, trite as it may be, upon the mutual exchange of characteristics between national cultures.

1. *The Mutual Presentation and Exchange of Books and Magazines.*

One of the most desirable things is the exchange of knowledge by the mutual presentation of books, newspapers, magazines and reports published in various countries. Publications of these various kinds differ widely in number, quantity and quality and cannot be the same in different countries. But in spite of this difference, satisfactory results will be produced in the economic and scientific sense by the exchange of these writings between specified countries. Of course this has already been practised to some extent, but we should like henceforth to enlarge more widely the sphere of the practice and to make more effective this method which is such a convenient means of becoming acquainted with the cultural characteristics of other countries.

Though Japanese writings belong only to Japan, and are very poor in circulation and distribution throughout the world, yet the Japanese books, magazines and scientific reports annually published seem not to yield to those of the other countries of the world in point of numbers. Though Japanese culture is original to such a degree that Japanese literature is full of originality, yet it is not understood with any approach to correctness by the world at large because of the small circulation enjoyed by Japanese publications.

In our opinion, a thorough recognition and understanding of the cultural history of the Japanese race would afford valuable material for the re-establishment of the cultural history of mankind. But unfortunately Japanese culture has only been partially introduced to the world by means of English, French and German translations, and it is possible to count on your fingers the number of scholars in the world who are able to investigate Japanese culture by reference to Japanese works in the original, which hitherto have not been taken into consideration, but which seem to-day to be understood, or to be to some extent the subject of endeavours to understand.

If the evolutionary process of the life-mode of the Japanese folk is hereafter studied directly from the Japanese originals, we need not take the trouble of publishing them in an English, French and German translation, and can thus save trouble and be in a position to present foreign countries with a greater volume of Japanese national literature. There is only a small number of Japanese original works to be found in the libraries of the world, just as we can scarcely read Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Mexican and Brazilian originals in the libraries of Japan. This is due to the fact that those countries do not expect to understand one another's language and have not imparted publications to each other.

Lately, the "Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores" of Mexico has been successively publishing and presenting the historiographical societies of our universities with the "Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano" which affords us fresh material not mentioned in ordinary books on history and archaeology, thus enabling us to grasp fully the outline, if not the details, of the subject. As will be inferred from this particular instance, it is necessary for each single country to collect the literature proper to all other countries even though the latter may have only a small circulation. It is accordingly desirable to arrange as soon as possible for the mutual presentation and exchange of published writings by means of co-operation between the various countries.

2. *The Mutual Exchange of Specimens.*

The universities and museums of the countries of the world are collecting specimens typical of their respective national cultures. But it will sometimes happen that such an institute possesses two specimens of the same sort, so that the universities and museums of each country might exchange this kind of surplus specimens with those of other pre-determined countries by presenting them to the latter.

It often happens that specimens which are commonplace in one country are unique in others. To me the most fascinating of all specimens are archaeological relics and ethnographical survivals. To take one example of archaeological relics, the Japanese earthenware of prehistoric ages is of two descriptions — viz., the cord-ornament type and the Yayoi type, which are distinguishable from each other in the originals, but not in photographs and drawings. It is desirable to get the originals, even if fragmentary. We can almost judge of the genuineness of Chinese copper and bronze implements if we examine the originals, even though there exist many valueless imitations of these implements, so that we can exhibit these specimens with a safe conscience if they are sent to us as originals guaranteed by credible scholars.

Properly speaking, articles in the hands of curio dealers are of small scientific value owing to the obscurity which attends the locality and strata of their discovery, even if they are really genuine. Therefore we hope that the universities and museums which have a full knowledge of these articles will present one another with their surplus acquisitions. In cases where the mutual exchange of the original articles is impossible, we should like to substitute for them perfect photographs or drawings. Photographs are preferable in respect of form, but not satisfactory in respect of colour, while as regards drawings the reverse is the case. If possible, we should hope for the mutual and simultaneous exchange of both.

3. *Exchange of Students for Study abroad.*

The best way of correctly understanding the characteristics of national cultures is the exchange between various countries of students who, immersed in the physical and social environment of each other's countries, study the life-mode which prevails in the foreign country. For this purpose, a complete acquaintance with foreign languages takes precedence of all other considerations. This, however, can never be fully accomplished by grammars and other books, but comes easily from going to alien countries to come into close contact with the people.

There is something in cultural characteristics which is beyond expression and can never be known through letters, but can naturally be comprehended by contact with scholars of the various countries, who possess characteristics and special abilities of their own, of which we can get only a glimpse in their works. However, the students who study abroad have the advantage of absorbing those valuable specific qualities possessed by foreign scholars through direct contact with their personalities. The mutual exchange of students for study abroad constitutes the so-called "private diplomacy", and affords us not only scientific interest, but doubtless many economic and political benefits due to the mutual understanding of the ideals of life entertained by the various folks. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon this matter.

4. *Exchange of Lectures.*

To hold lecture meetings for a shorter or longer period by means of the mutual exchange of professors between the universities of the world enables us to understand the delicate characteristics of their various cultures, not expressed in writing. In reading books, our understanding is often liable to fall into egoism, while in the case of lectures, the members of the audience have the advantage of arriving at an immediate understanding of the matter in hand by asking the lecturers various questions suggested by their direct contact with the latter's personality. Lecture meetings also afford an opportunity of viewing ancient writings and relics which are rarely shown to the general public. Therefore it is necessary for us to have a greater number of opportunities of lecture exchange in order to create a higher degree of mutual understanding.

On looking back upon the past, the elder nations of Europe and America, in the early years of Meiji, sent to our country men eminent alike in learning and virtue as ministers or members of their legations so that they might study freely and fully the cultural history of our country. The introduction of Japan to the world by such men replaced the conception of Japan prevailing since Marco Polo as the Golden Isles, in the fairy tales, far across the sea, by the view of Japan as a country of ancient civilisation which had made original progress in politics, economy, literature, religion and morality. This re-recognition of Japan by European and American peoples resulted in the withdrawal of the discriminative treatment of Japan by those countries.

While we are grateful to these students of Japan from the elder countries, they themselves seem also to have contributed to some degree to the cultural improvement of their own countries by that re-recognition of specific Japanese culture which enabled them to grasp the peculiarities possessed nowhere in the world but in Japan and to adopt those Japanese cultural characteristics in their countries. Hitherto Japan seems to have been known to Europeans and Americans only as "the country of the Fine Arts", but we believe that our Japan is "the country of morality", "the country of literature" and also "the country of the Family", and one which throughout history has been unique in evincing a specific character of her own, and has preserved her national structure in its original form as long as three thousand years since the foundation of the empire, and is making increasing strides in prosperity every year. It is desirable that Japanese historians should introduce this aspect of Japan to other countries through their lectures, while at the same time those countries should send their historians to lecture in Japan on their own cultural history.

Dr. Spränger who was dispatched recently from Germany to Japan and who gave in the universities various kinds of lectures, spoke at our Waseda University on "National Character and Culture" which seems not only to have deepened all the students' knowledge of Germany,

but also to have made them better understand the national character of their own country. He also spoke over the radio on the " Wanderv gel " of the young Germans, which, in his opinion, is not a mere meaningless and capricious walk, but aims chiefly at mental and physical discipline and arouses affection for the soil by means of travel, for the cherishing, inspiration and collection of folk-songs, and also by means of festivals and banquets without drink and tobacco. This radio address of his gave a great stimulus to our younger generation who have been indulging of late in meaningless hikings in pursuance of fashion, and made them look back upon the true significance of the Japanese festivals and ceremonies and of the pilgrimage to old shrines and temples of Japan, which they had been disregarding with ridicule.

In this way, our understanding of the characteristics of foreign cultures leads to a deepening of the understanding of our cultural characteristics. The exchange of lectures is important in this sense. The system of " Arbeitsdienst " carried out in recent Germany bears a resemblance to the " Yedachi " of ancient Japan, so that the mutual exchange of lectures on these two subjects will necessarily bring many discoveries to both. The exchange of lectures is a method of intellectual co-operation which can produce satisfactory results most promptly.

V. CONCLUSION.

In the preceding chapters, I have spoken of intellectual co-operation and the mutual exchange of characteristics between national cultures in their most important and practicable aspects. Above all, the fundamental thing is to devise methods of co-operation for the purpose of solving those three great questions of anthropology which I enumerated at the outset. Co-operation is easily carried out in the matter of joint studies, joint travels, joint translations and joint publications, the enormous benefits of which I need not further detail.

Concerning the mutual exchange of cultural characteristics, I have said that the most urgent thing in the economic as well as the scientific sense for universities, museums and libraries is to harmonise the demand and supply of material for research by the mutual exchange of surplus books and magazines, specimens, photographs and drawings. I spoke also of the necessity of developing mutual study and a general understanding of the cultural characteristics of the various nations by means of an exchange of students and professors for study abroad.

The above ideas occur, of course, to everyone, and have even on many occasions been put into practice. But I regard the traditional, voluntary and, as it were, private attitudes and methods executed on a sporadic scale as of no utility. In my opinion, the above-mentioned co-operation and exchange must be practised by the general consent of each country as a national enterprise. For this purpose, each country must first of all send her representatives to hold councils to determine upon methods of co-operation and exchange, and she must also endeavour to attain her object as perfectly as possible by making efficient use of ample funds.

At a glance, this seems to be outside the proper scope of national enterprise. But if, in reality, intellectual co-operation and the mutual exchange of characteristics between the national cultures are carried out effectively, the vices of suspicion, jealousy, terror and anxiety which at the present day pervade the world will be swept away and all the folks of the world will enjoy peace and stability based on mutual understanding, and will discover that the notions regarded as the dreams of devotees or philosophers that " the world forms one family " and " all men in the world are brothers " are not an unrealisable fantasy, but an ideal which can be carried out in practice. If in this way, conflicts are mitigated, even if not entirely eliminated and mankind throughout the world can evade such sufferings, resulting from the calamities of war, as it actually experienced over ten years ago, it will be able to realise on this earth the " world of paradise " which it has hitherto dreamed of and aspired after, to enjoy there a life full of love, hope and light.

REGIONAL INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION : (a) INTER-BALTIC INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

By Rector ROEMERIS,

Chairman of the Lithuanian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

[Point 5, II, E (a), of the Agenda.]

The practice whereby groups of neighbouring States enter into regional agreements with a view to political intercourse so that full advantage may be taken of their interdependence and of the solidarity that ensues, is steadily developing and establishing itself, more particularly among the countries of Eastern Europe. This vast area of the European continent, which stretches from the Arctic Ocean in the north along the shores of the Baltic Sea, continues between the territory of the Soviet Union and Germany, covering the great expanse of land between the Black Sea and the Adriatic and, embracing the whole of the Balkan peninsula, ends at the southern shores of Greece, has, it would seem, all the qualifications for becoming the classic ground for regional agreements.

We have here, in the very heart of Old Europe, a young and new Europe, reconstructed after the great war according to a political plan based on the principle of nationalities. Conceived in this way, Eastern Europe divides itself into three regional groups of States : the Balkan Group in the south ; the Danubian Group, with intermediate links with the first, and the Baltic Regional Group in the north, separated from the Danubian Group by Poland, which might serve as a connecting link in some inter-regional corporate organisation of Eastern Europe.

In the nineteenth century, the whole of this vast territory was dominated by three or four major imperialist political blocks : the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, the Habsburg Empire in the Danube region, the Russian Empire of the Czars in the north, and the possessions of Prussia in the north-west. It was in the Balkans of the nineteenth century that the first disintegration of the imperialist structure occurred, giving rise to the formation of new blocks of national States. Up to the period of the great war, however, even in the Balkans, the elements of the new structure only slowly asserted themselves in the face of the threatening imperialism of the Habsburg and Czarist Empires.

The effects of the world war revolutionised the political structure of the whole of Eastern Europe from the Balkans to the Baltic Sea and the Arctic Ocean. The imperialism of the great empires among which this part of Europe had been divided, broken by military defeat and revolution, gave way. Local national political movements and the historic claims put forward by the conquered nations in this vast area of territory led to the formation of a number of independent national States.

This phenomenon, which occurred suddenly, evidenced the vitality of the local national forces underlying these movements ; it came perhaps as a surprise, as one did not expect to see local national organisations rise to such a degree of maturity in territory where the population had grown accustomed to seeing nothing but Russian or German domination. Although some understanding existed of the heterogeneous character of the territories of the Habsburg Empire and of the desire for expansion manifested by the young Balkan nations, and also of the political problem of the resurrection of cruelly dismembered Poland, the existence and vitality of the little nations bordering on the Baltic Sea was scarcely realised.

And yet beneath the old imperialist domination of pre-war times the young nations in these parts of Europe were accomplishing their task of national organisation and were in full activity. As early as 1905, at the time of the Russian revolution, they were asserting themselves politically, but it was really the consequences of the war that enabled them to recover their freedom.

The map of Eastern Europe underwent a complete change after the great war. The principle of nationalities was introduced in the formation of the new States that arose in this part of Europe, taking the place of the old principle of historic imperialism or of the dynastic principle. The system of regional agreements between different groups of these States constitutes a flexible instrument for counteracting the effects of excessive isolation, for preventing a return of the imperialist spirit and, lastly, for meeting the requirements of co-ordinated activity over a vaster field, beyond the national frontiers that have substituted political subdivision for the former uniformity of large areas.

The Baltic region — in the restricted sense of the term — lends itself better than any to the system of regional agreements. It is a region composed of three small national republics — Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia — occupying the eastern coast of the Baltic from Prussia to the Gulf of Finland. It is, in fact, a region of an extremely varied character, divided up into three small political units where, owing to that very fact, the effects of the complete isolation of the national States would be most felt and would lead to the most serious negative consequences if this situation were not remedied and adjusted. It is here, therefore, that a remedy in the form of co-operation is the most urgently required. Consequently, it is here also that one might expect to find a natural tendency towards a system of integration, at least in the form of co-ordination.

Furthermore, no serious obstacles to sincere agreement exist there. The three States of this region are founded on the same principle of nationalities. Between them there is no conflict of any kind, no mutual claims of a nature to divide them. They have nothing to fear from each other and, moreover, they are of exactly equal strength. They obtained national and political emancipation in very similar conditions. Two of them, Latvia and Estonia, have almost common history, the same institutions, and have lived under the same juridical regime ; again, Latvia and Lithuania, have the same racial origin and very similar languages. All three have been subjected to the same Russian domination and have fought under similar circumstances. Their social composition, most of their vital problems and even their recent constitutional evolution show really striking similarities. Their everyday needs and intellectual activity are, in the main, also the same. Everything, in fact, urges them towards genuine understanding, for there is here an entirely natural and firm basis of solidarity.

Would it not be possible to adapt the system of regional agreements as applied to political questions and as a means of establishing a very elastic confederation of States, to purely intellectual co-operation also ? If the idea of intellectual co-operation spread throughout the whole of the international community when it was decided to create the International Committee and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation open to every country of the world, would it not be all the more appropriate to set up intermediate organisations for such co-operation through the medium of regional agreements ? Must we necessarily confine ourselves to two opposite poles, at one of which there is but one isolated national " unit " and at the other a host of " units " representing a worldwide comprehensive scheme ? Would it not be better to arrive at this general world plan through the agency of regional or other component organisations which could anticipate the specific and more limited problems of this co-operation, problems that would be common to such a group and which, thanks to a closer solidarity, would be more satisfactorily solved within that group than on the universal plane of worldwide co-operation ?

Such were the questions that engaged the attention of the national committees on intellectual co-operation of the Baltic States, which, owing to their relatively smaller size, are more favourable to the idea of regional pacts. Consequently, since 1935, they have been working towards that end, and it would seem that the results of this initiative are satisfactory, for understanding is becoming permanent and is showing a tendency to gain in strength and to develop. The machinery for this regional intellectual co-operation and understanding is provided in the periodical meetings of the national intellectual co-operation committees.

Their first conference was held in 1935 at Kaunas, in Lithuania, as the National Lithuanian Committee was the first to raise the question. It should be mentioned that Finland consented to participate in this regional scheme for intellectual co-operation between the Baltic States, although it was not a party to the political Baltic Agreement concluded in 1934 between Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The fact is that the sphere of intellectual solidarity is not necessarily connected with purely political co-operation on the part of States represented by their Governments. The Finnish National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation therefore participated in the common regional task from the start, and it is at Helsinki, the capital of Finland, that the next Conference is to be held, in the autumn of 1937. An even more striking illustration was the participation of the Swedish National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in the second Baltic Conference at Tartu, in Estonia, in 1936. Its observer, M. Knäs, of the Swedish Ministry of Public Education, joined with the heads of the delegations of the national Estonian, Finnish, Latvian and Lithuanian Committees in signing the resolutions of the Conference.

The Baltic Entente in matters of intellectual co-operation, which was established in 1935, is thus tending to spread and to become if not Seando-Baltic, at least Swedo-Baltic. No doubt Sweden primarily belongs to the Scandinavian regional group, but its geographical situation on the edge of the Baltic sea, its constant relations with the countries on the opposite shores, its increasingly close connection with the nations of the Eastern Baltic and even its historical traditions of marked activity in those regions — an activity which was interrupted only by the advent of Russian domination — as well as the special sympathy and prestige which Sweden enjoys in the Eastern Baltic as an instrument of civilisation, law, peace and social principles based on justice, work and progress — all these factors tend to make the national republics of the Eastern Baltic extend the sphere of their regional contacts towards Scandinavia in general and Sweden in particular. The idea of Swedo-Baltic collaboration is undoubtedly very popular in that part of Europe.

The principal problems of intellectual co-operation which occupied the attention of the first two regional Baltic Conferences, and which are at present being dealt with by the respective Committees, are the following :

(a) The revision of school history and geography textbooks, with the object of eliminating from them everything prejudicial to the solidarity of the Baltic nations and countries (including Finland), or indicating ill-will towards one or any of them. The revision is also aimed at ensuring objectivity in information about all matters connected with those countries and nations with a view to furthering mutual knowledge, respect and sympathy. This task should be accomplished in common by special national committees consisting of teachers of history and geography, working in close and constant collaboration.

(b) The choice of a common language to meet the needs of inter-Baltic intellectual co-operation (including Finland). A decision has been made in favour of two parallel languages, the same as those adopted by the League of Nations — *i.e.*, English and French — in each of the Baltic States, one of those languages has already been made the principal foreign language in the schools.

(c) Instruction in the national languages of the Baltic States (including Finland) by means of chairs and lectureships at the universities in those countries ; the universities of Kaunas in Lithuania, Riga in Latvia, Tartu in Estonia and Helsinki or Turku-Abo in Finland.

(d) Continuous co-operation between the universities in the Baltic States. The exchange of professors and students between those universities, mutual recognition of university diplomas and degrees and of terms passed in one of those universities by students from another. The formation of an inter-Baltic bibliographical organisation for general scientific and university publications, with information about the principal works and monographs. Summaries of contents of university scientific books and publications to be copiously inserted in the text, in one of the languages selected for inter-Baltic relations.

(e) Co-operation with regard to national libraries, archives, galleries and museums — in particular, with a view to arranging loans of books, manuscripts, documents, works of art and other collections — between the Baltic States (including Finland).

(f) Co-operation between the Baltic States (including Finland) in the sphere of art, ethnography and archaeology. Exhibitions, exchanges and activities in common.

(g) Distribution of literary and scientific publications between the Baltic States (including Finland). Information, translations, etc.

(h) Steps to persuade the respective Governments of the Baltic States (including Finland) to decide in favour of televising educational films between those countries.

(i) Steps to persuade the respective Governments of the Baltic States (including Finland) to conclude special conventions on the intellectual relations between those countries, and between them and the Scandinavian countries. These relations and co-operation in every sphere between all those countries call for appropriate ways and means, financial as well as administrative and technical, which often can only be organised and procured with the assistance of the State and its organisations.

REGIONAL INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION :
(b) INTER-BALKAN INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

By M. G. TZITZEICA,

Chairman of the Roumanian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

[Point 5, II, E (b), of the Agenda.]

Intellectual co-operation between peoples of neighbouring States or between peoples of one and the same region constitutes one of the most interesting and also one of the most difficult problems of intellectual co-operation in general.

Between neighbouring nations, that is between nations having a common frontier, there exists almost invariably a feeling of mutual distrust, the negative legacy which the present generations have inherited from the disastrous conflicts of the past.

Very often also, there is a difference of level in various spheres, which, if it is too accentuated, becomes a serious obstacle to intellectual relations.

The great importance attaching to the question resides precisely in the necessity of overcoming these obstacles and finding reliable channels through which intellectual co-operation can be permanently established.

One of the most striking instances is the problem of intellectual co-operation between the Balkan States. Here, owing to special geographical, ethnographical and historical reasons, the problem is still more difficult.

Practically all the Balkan peoples have passed through the same historical vicissitudes which have postponed the development of their intellectual institutions. To make good the time that had so been lost, independently of the neighbouring nations, was a question of capital importance for each of these peoples. To this end, the *élite* of the younger generation has been sent abroad to countries of highly developed culture and according to certain national affinities.

In each of the Balkan countries, therefore, culture has developed along different lines under the indirect influence of foreign civilisations, departing from the natural course of historical evolution.

And if to these circumstances be added the questionable, derogatory, and even offensive sense that the expression "Balkan" had come to acquire, it will be easy to understand the variety of difficulties surrounding the problem of Inter-Balkan co-operation.

EFFORTS TOWARDS ESTABLISHING INTER-BALKAN CO-OPERATION.

In spite of the real difficulties that hampered the functioning of a sound system of co-operation, several attempts have been made to bring about intellectual *rapprochements* in isolated cases.

There was, for example, a time when young Roumanian theologians went to Athens to complete their studies and to obtain the higher degrees in theology, just as young Bulgarians came to Bucharest to pursue some of their special branches of study.

Furthermore, intellectual relations have frequently been established between the leading scientists of the different Balkan countries so that they might exchange their views on the methods followed in their sphere of specialised learning and on the results obtained.

It was the period of intellectual co-operation established at random, without any organised plan, and more or less of a patriarchal character. The movement, no doubt, had its good points, but it was not systematically continued and led to no notable results.

During the last twenty-five years, other forms of Inter-Balkan co-operation have been attempted, in each case, along more definite lines and with a more practical organisation.

It is interesting to note that the initiative which led to these new forms of intellectual co-operation originated in different quarters, at different periods and under a great variety of aspects. They were experiments undertaken to attain a lofty ideal, which, in every instance, proved the existence of a more and more favourable atmosphere for well organised intellectual co-operation.

* * *

I shall now briefly review the attempts that have been made to establish intellectual co-operation between the Balkan nations.

1. *South-East Europe Institute*. — This Institute of Scientific Research was founded in 1913 at Bucharest by M. Iorga, M. Pârvan and M. Murgoci, to serve the countries and peoples of the Carpathian and Balkan region.

The Institute began to function in 1914, but it was particularly after the great war that it developed, under the direction of M. Iorga.

Courses of tuition, lectures, missions and visits have been organised and year-books and monographs have been published, all with the object of promoting a better knowledge of the geography, history, language, literature and folklore of each of the Balkan peoples.

The collaboration of foreign or Balkan scholars has frequently been sought, and these have been invited to give lectures within the framework of the Institute's programme.

It is an interesting experiment in the field of Inter-Balkan co-operation.

2. "*Revue des Balkans*". — The monthly publication known as the *Revue des Balkans* was founded in Paris in 1918 under the direction of M. Léon Savadjian, in collaboration with prominent politicians of the Balkan States: M. Venizelos, M. Vesnitch, M. Politis, M. Take Ionesco, M. Lazare Markovitch, etc.

The aim of the review was, and still is : " To make known abroad the Balkans under their real aspects ". It is not an intellectual co-operation publication properly so-called ; it is rather an attempt at political and economic *rapprochement* between the Balkan peoples, and although this is not a really definite object, it aims indirectly at establishing intellectual co-operation between them.

3. *Association for the Promotion of Carpathian Geology.* — In 1922, on the occasion of the International Geological Congress at Brussels, the *Association for the Promotion of Carpathian Geology* was formed on the initiative of the Roumanian geologist M. G. Murgoci, for the purpose of co-ordinating geological research concerning the Carpathians, undertaken in Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The Association first met at Lwow (Poland) in 1925 ; a second meeting was held at Bucharest (Roumania) in 1927, and a third at Prague (Czechoslovakia) in 1931. The fourth meeting, which was to have been held at Belgrade (Yugoslavia) was postponed. Some of these meetings were also attended by Bulgarian geologists.

It is an interesting example of intellectual co-operation of a limited character but of great scientific value.

4. *Balkan Conference.* — On the occasion of the twenty-seventh Peace Congress held at Athens in October 1929, M. Papanastasiou, former Prime Minister of Greece, called attention to the urgent need for organising annual Balkan conferences to study questions concerning all the Balkan nations. He particularly asked the International Peace Bureau to take the initiative in calling the first Conference. He also suggested that the League of Nations should create an Institute of Balkan Co-operation.

The first Conference was held at Athens in October 1930, and among the different sections was an Intellectual Co-operation Section which worked under the Chairmanship of Hamdula Suphi Bey, the Turkish delegate. It was decided to establish closer relations between the intellectual institutions of the Balkan countries by the exchange of university professors and students, and by a *rapprochement* of cultural associations. It was also proposed that a Balkan Institute of Intellectual Co-operation should be created.

The other Balkan Conferences — Istanbul 1931, Bucharest 1932 and Salonica 1933 — voted, in respect of intellectual co-operation, practically the same recommendations as the first, expressing the earnest desire that an effective intellectual *rapprochement* should be established.

5. "*Les Balkans.*" — The purpose of this publication, which first appeared at Athens in 1930 in connection with the First Balkan Conference under the direction of M. X. Lefcoparidis, is to establish a Balkan union. It is a good propaganda organ for the political, economic, social and intellectual *rapprochement* of the Balkan nations.

6. "*Revue internationale des Études balkaniques.*" — A publication of high scientific value, published in Belgrade since 1934, under the editorship of M. M. P. Skok and M. Budimir.

The four volumes so far published contain a wealth of material of the utmost interest dealing with all kinds of questions concerning the Balkan countries and people, contributed by first-rate scholars.

7. *Inter-Balkan Congress of Mathematicians.* — A group of Greek mathematicians were happily inspired when they organised the first Inter-Balkan Congress of Mathematicians in Athens in 1934. The Congress was a notable success, and was attended by mathematicians from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, besides a number of professors and engineers.

The foundations were laid for a system of real inter-Balkan intellectual co-operation, in the field of the pure and applied mathematical sciences, by Congresses to be held every three years in each of the Balkan countries in turn, and by the publication of a *Mathematical Review of the Inter-Balkan Union*, under the direction of mathematicians chosen from all the Balkan States.

The second Inter-Balkan Congress of Mathematicians will be held at Bucharest in September 1937.

This initiative constitutes one of the most interesting and most reliable forms of regional intellectual co-operation.

POSSIBILITIES OF ORGANISATION.

I have just described the different attempts at Inter-Balkan intellectual co-operation which have been made as a result of natural tendencies and which are deserving of consideration.

All these attempts, which emphasise the possibilities of organisation, should be co-ordinated in order that they may not be made in vain.

Such is the important task that awaits the National Committees ; they can place the interesting steps already taken on a systematic basis, they can overcome temporary difficulties and, thanks to their experience and the information they obtain from a central source, they can turn the good beginning that has been made to the best account.

What is required then is, first of all, a *rapprochement* and active collaboration between the national committees of the Balkan countries under the auspices of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Meetings of these committees might therefore be arranged concurrently with the general conferences of the national committees on intellectual co-operation. Special meetings of the Balkan committees might likewise be organised in different centres and at different dates.

It will, however, be necessary to keep the following fundamental idea in mind : At these meetings, no Balkan country should be granted a privileged position as compared with the others.

It is absolutely essential that one of the primary concerns of the Balkan national committees should be the establishment of genuine, real and sincere intellectual co-operation. That is the sole guarantee of success.

The national committees can begin forthwith to study and co-ordinate as much as possible the movements on which a practical start has already been made.

On this basis, the national committees will seek out the natural paths for subsequent development, so that intellectual co-operation between the Balkan nations may become a real instrument of progress for the whole of Europe.

All these preliminary activities of the national committees should be recorded at the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. It will even be necessary for the plan of action adopted by these committees to be previously approved, in order that there may be no "false start" — in other words, in order that some miscalculated action may not compromise work of the highest importance.

I wish to stress the idea that the national committees should, so far as may be possible, in all enterprises in the field of intellectual co-operation, ensure an equal intellectual contribution by, and an equal development of the qualities of, every Balkan country. Absolute sincerity of common action in all circumstances will eventually succeed in dispelling mutual distrust.

In short the starting point of Inter-Balkan co-operation should be closer contact between the national committees through the agency of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, so that they may have an opportunity of studying the activities being pursued, to co-ordinate them and to give them all the necessary support.

SPECIAL POSITION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES IN YOUNG AND OUTLYING COUNTRIES.

By Mr. Kenneth BINNS,

Australian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

[Point 5, II, F, of the Agenda.]

(This report was submitted by Sir Robert GARRAN.)

Of the forty-two countries in which there are national committees of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, fifteen may fairly be regarded as coming within the scope of the title of this paper. The term "young" must, however, be interpreted in a number of cases as applying to their international and not to their national history. By "outlying" I mean, of course, distant from Paris and Geneva. While not claiming that these circumstances produce any fundamental difference in the work of these national committees as compared with those in other countries, I hope a consideration of some of the effects they may have will prove interesting and helpful. If it should lead to a fuller understanding, both by the League of Nations Secretariat and the Paris Institute and other national committees, of the handicaps and problems with which at least some of the young and outlying committees are faced, I feel that our task will have been well worth while.

The Australian Committee has not had the advantage of personal or intimate contact with any other national committees. What I have to say is therefore based entirely on its own experience. As conditions in Australia are unusual even for a young and outlying country, it may be as well if I briefly describe the circumstances under which our Australian Committee functions. Upon geographical and also political grounds, it is almost impossible to constitute a thoroughly representative national committee for Australia. When I mention that the distance between Canberra, the national capital of Australia, and the capital cities of the six States of the Commonwealth varies from 200 to more than 2,200 miles, and that one-half of the population of Australia is contained in these capital cities of the six States, the expense and difficulty in bringing delegates together will be realised. It was largely because of this that the Federal Government, in 1925 appointed an appropriate Commonwealth official to act as the national committee for Australia. Upon his retirement in 1930, I was appointed by reason of my position as Librarian of the Commonwealth National Library.

Although it is the national capital of Australia, Canberra has a population of only 8,000, consisting chiefly of Federal officials and their families. It will be realised, therefore, that the work of the national committee must largely be of a secretarial or executive character.

It should be understood that, prior to Federation, the six States of Australia were entirely independent and were Sovereign States under the British Crown. Even with the coming of Federation in 1901, the States still retained their own domestic administration in regard to educational and cultural activities. The implication of this in respect to the work of a national committee will be seen when I mention that matters relating to primary and secondary education have to be referred to six separate Education Departments and that each State has its own university, public library, museum, art gallery, etc.

Very shortly after taking office as the national committee for Australia, I realised how ineffective my work would be, cut off as I was from personal contacts with the organisations through which such work was to be made effective. The absence also of any confrères with whom to discuss matters or who could bring to the work specialised information and experience was perhaps an even more serious difficulty. Because of the financial depression, which was then affecting Australia, I knew that it would be impossible for the Commonwealth Government to consider the establishment of any larger committee, so I appealed to the universities and the

League of Nations Unions in the various States to co-operate in an unofficial capacity. At this stage, the assistance of the Australian Council for Educational Research, which is an unofficial co-ordinating body for purely research purposes, proved most helpful, and still continues to be the chief agency through which Institute activities relating to primary and secondary education are passed on to the State Education Departments of Australia.

In 1936, I made strong representations for the establishment of a representative national committee which would meet once a year to discuss policy and give publicity but which would work through a small Executive Committee in Canberra. Unfortunately, the Government decided not to give effect to my representations.

It may not be out of place to submit some general comments on the advantages and disadvantages in having a national committee constituted by and working as a part of the political administration of a country.

Advantages:

- (1) It guarantees continuity of existence and a certain degree of financial support ;
- (2) Secures enhanced status ;
- (3) Secures the co-operation of Government agencies ;
- (4) Associates the Institute with the Government's relationship to the League of Nations ;
- (5) Provides liaison with Ministers, thus helping to influence international policy.

Disadvantages:

- (1) Gives the appearance of being purely a Government instrumentality ;
- (2) Changes of government may affect the personal interest in and support of the work ;
- (3) Involves attachment to a Government Department ;
- (4) Makes propaganda and free discussion difficult ;
- (5) Associates the Committee with the international policy of the Government in power ;
- (6) May restrict personnel drawn from non-Governmental sources ;
- (7) May delay effective action by documentary circumlocution ;
- (8) Hampers initiative, thus perhaps damping personal enthusiasm.

It may be claimed that the foregoing does not specifically apply to young and outlying countries. At the same time, I think it is reasonable to assume that a Governmental Committee is more often found in these countries, and that to some extent it may be more suited to their particular conditions and circumstances. For the successful work of a National Committee which is more or less independent of Government control and support, it will, I think, be admitted that a high degree of information on and interest in international affairs is essential. At the same time, I believe that a combination of these two types is the ideal one for young and outlying countries.

Perhaps the most important factor affecting the work of national committees in young countries is that the outstanding problem engaging the attention of their citizens is the development and expansion of their material interests. While the argument should not be pressed too far, it is a fact that the development of racial art and culture is dependent largely on the attainment of economic security, so that a portion of the public at least may have the opportunities and leisure necessary to devote their time to their development.

The tendency, however, of young countries is to pay more attention to economic than to intellectual and cultural matters, for the former constitutes for them a more pressing and vital need. It is natural, therefore, that they should be more interested in seeking a foundation for international peace in economic rather than in intellectual co-operation. In his connection, I have been interested to note the large and growing interest in the work and publications of the International Labour Office, not only among politicians and officials but also among the working classes in Australia. Might it not be of advantage, therefore, to associate the work of the Institute more directly with that of the International Labour Office, and thus use national committees to promote this interest still further ? The association of the Institute with the investigations at present being carried on by the International Labour Office into the effect of mechanisation in different countries certainly indicates that this is receiving the attention of the Institute, and what I have said is intended to encourage it to go still further in this direction.

It should be remembered that Europe has more than a thousand years of artistic and cultural history, whereas in many of the younger countries a national culture is only just beginning to be developed. It will be realised, therefore, that the work of the Institute in connection with museums, art galleries, libraries, etc., requires adjusting if it is to meet the peculiar conditions existing in young countries. Take, for example, the Institute's activities in such matters as historical monuments, facsimiles of documents, bibliographies of translations, exhibitions of popular arts, folk lore, intellectual rights, etc. It is obvious that the work of the Institute in these matters must have a different meaning and appeal in European countries from that which it has in certain young and outlying ones. Next, take the work in connection with libraries, museums and art galleries. Much of this is undoubtedly most helpful to young countries, but here again the particular conditions and needs of young countries require to be carefully considered.

As a librarian, may I be pardoned if I stress the library aspect ? It is principally, through libraries that League of Nations, International Labour Organisation and Institute publications are made available, particularly to the general public. In these days, when there is much loose talk regarding the failure of the League, I have been astonished at the ignorance, not only among the general public, but also in quarters where one would naturally expect better information regarding the permanent and constructive work which the League and its branches have been

carrying out. It is only by securing the widest circulation of the said reports that this work can be made generally known and appreciated.

In this regard, public libraries are the key to the position. Unfortunately, in Australia our public-library organisation is woefully inadequate, though in two or three of the more developed States we have an excellent State public library serving the capital city. In these, there are complete sets of League of Nations publications, but, in certain of the other States, I know that no such set exists. The Federal Government has been most generously treated by the League in the supply of sets of League publications, but while copies of certain publications are circulated by it to State Governments and Departments, it does not supply any to libraries, for it naturally assumes that, since the League has provided such a moderate rate for a comprehensive subscription, these libraries can reasonably be expected to provide their own sets. I think there are two reasons why they have not yet subscribed :

(1) Lack of demand for League publications : It is obvious that without the capacity to supply, you can never create the demand. Might not these libraries be offered the whole range of League publications for one year, free of charge, on condition that it is publicly displayed and made as widely available as possible ?

(2) Fear that they could not adequately catalogue and maintain such a large and complicated series of documents : In Australia, there are few trained librarians and only in three libraries is there any adequate course of training for their own officers. In this is the explanation of the reluctance of some of our libraries to undertake the task of cataloguing and familiarising themselves with such a new and wide range of specialised material. Personally, I cannot but regard as a mistake the discontinuance some years ago by the League of Nations secretariat of its printed catalogue cards. I would like to see it re-instituted and extended to include the publications of all branch or affiliated institutions. The Cumulative Catalogue of League Publications does not cover the complete range, and the latest issue as far as I know is only up to 1935. My suggestion is for more bibliographical assistance to make League publications more widely known and used. Although I have put the argument purely from the standpoint of Australia, I believe that it applies in greater or lesser degree to most young and outlying countries.

I mention these matters because I think it is desirable that national committees in these countries should not be discouraged by finding that, in the programme of work of the Institute, there are many matters in which they cannot take a real and practical part. From the standpoint of public support for the aims and objects of the Institute, it is desirable that the work which it is doing should have a direct and practical appeal to the public. My experience has been, when explaining the aims and work of the Institute, that my most effective argument has been connected with its work relating to the revision of school text-books, the supervision of film production, and work in education and universities. At the same time, I feel that a more definite statement of objectives and ideals would make the Institute's appeal more effective. It will be realised, however, that these matters are of a general and worldwide character and do not imply a programme of intellectual co-operation as between one nation and another. This has led me to the view that, from the standpoint of young and distant countries, our programme of intellectual co-operation is on too large and too general a scale. It does not logically lead to intimate and permanent contacts with neighbouring nationals.

Let me explain what I mean from the standpoint of Australia. As a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it has close and vital contacts, not only of a political, but also of an intellectual and cultural character, with both Great Britain and the other Dominions. Its sphere of international contacts is primarily with countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean. Under the Statute of Westminster it is now making direct political and economic contacts with these nations. Its machinery for controlling these is new and untried. It has so far had little opportunity or material on which to build a basis of intellectual understanding of the national characteristics and culture of its neighbours.

It is only within the last few years that its libraries have made any real commencement on the securing of literature relating to the East, and, even to-day, no library contains the full range of official publications of any of these neighbouring countries except those of the United States of America. The arts and antiquities of these countries are almost unrepresented in our galleries and museums. In the educational sphere, we have few and quite unimportant contacts. From the economic standpoint, however, these are countries with which we have extensive trade relations, which must necessarily produce important political and international problems. It appears to me, therefore, that it would be more helpful to Australia if at this stage she concentrated her efforts for intellectual co-operation upon these countries rather than attempted to make them of a worldwide character.

I am not suggesting that, as a national committee, we should stand aside from the general stream of world intellectual co-operation, but it is only reasonable that a national committee such as Australia can constitute at the present time should concentrate its attention on what is its most urgent and vital problem, before attempting to undertake a programme far beyond its capacity. So far, the only valuable work which our national committee has been able to do in this sphere is the exchange of collections or representative books between libraries and cultural organisations. I cannot but regard it as unfortunate that, in regard to certain recent goodwill missions between Australia and these countries, which were productive of important and lasting results, their respective national committees were not in some way officially associated and represented.

This naturally leads to a consideration of the importance of personal contacts between members of national committees in neighbouring countries. No doubt one of the most important results of the present Conference of National Committees will be in respect to this very matter, but the fact of the large number of national committees represented at a Conference such as this

makes the contacts there formed less intimate and less productive of practical results than would be the case if two Committees met and considered a definite programme of mutual work. This naturally suggests the benefits which might result from regional conference of national committees.

I now come to a consideration of the influence of distance as affecting the work of national committees, though of course this aspect has entered, in a more or less important degree, into all that has gone before. First, may I refer to the obvious factor of its effect on the transmission of material and information. This is most noticeable in respect to requests for reports which have to reach Paris in time for inclusion in publications of the Institute. The problem is due perhaps more to local conditions than to actual distance from Paris. Thus, for example, information on matters relating to education, or libraries and museums in Australia, cannot be secured quickly. Copies of questionnaires have to be sent to six separate State Education Departments or six universities, libraries or art galleries, and replies received from all of them before I can, as the national committee, co-ordinate these into one representative statement for transmission to the Institute. Ordinary mails to Australia require five weeks. Postage to the most distant State capital in Australia takes a week. It will be seen, therefore, that for Australia or similar outlying countries, more time must be provided in which to prepare reports for inclusion in Institute publications than is the case with European countries. Might I suggest the use of airmail where possible when submitting such matters to outlying national committees?

Undoubtedly, the outstanding handicap which distance from the headquarters of the League of Nations Secretariat and the Paris Institute imposes on outlying national committees is the lack of personal contacts with officials and with other national committees. I have already referred to this and made the suggestion for the holding of regional conferences. There are, however, two other proposals which I would submit for consideration. To be conscious of one's isolation is to produce a sense of frustration in work of this character. Our present Conference of National Committees is only the second in the whole history of the League of Nations. I recognise that the holding of such Conferences is difficult and expensive, but the difficulties of bringing the mountain to Mahomet are overcome by sometimes bringing Mahomet to the mountain — in other words, might it not be arranged for officials of the Secretariat and the Institute to visit outlying national committees? The League of Nations has, I think, set us an example in this matter in the appointment of liaison officers, and I know that, on more than one occasion, representatives of the International Labour Office have visited Australia. Such visits would not only be productive of information and encouragement to national committees, but could be used to make the aims and objects of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation more widely known to the peoples of these countries.

Secondly, since the Institute is an integral part of the League of Nations, it is of advantage to emphasise this association in connection with the delegations sent each year by member nations to the annual meetings at Geneva. Speaking in respect to the practice in Australia, I may say that, unfortunately, this association has never to my knowledge been officially recognised, nor has the necessity been recognised of having at least some member of the Australian delegation who has a personal knowledge of the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and is prepared and able to contribute to the discussion of intellectual co-operation matters when they come up on the agenda in the form of the annual report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. It is not easy for a national committee to alter this position, but I feel sure that, if it was brought to the attention of the League of Nations and the suggestion was made that the League should formally request the Governments of member nations to endeavour as far as possible to include in their delegations some individual associated with the work of national committees, it would receive sympathetic support. In this way, not only would the national committee benefit, but I am sure the discussions at the League Assembly meetings would prove more interesting and helpful to the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation itself.

It is not necessary to do more than mention the limitations which distance places on such matters as exchange of professors and teachers, student visits and loan exhibitions. There is, however, one other aspect of a psychological character which is the result of isolation combined with the high degree of racial unity in Australia — i.e., a lack of sympathy and understanding of the work of the Institute in breaking down the age-old antipathies of nations and peoples in older countries. A nation which is more than 98% British, inhabiting an island continent in which the indigenous race was never a serious problem is apt to be impatient over the racial and national problems of Europe, and unappreciative of the slow but constructive work which the League of Nations and the Institute are engaged upon. The obligation, therefore, which this lays upon our national committee to engage in an educational campaign is a responsibility of which I am acutely conscious, but which demands a more able and effective national committee than myself.

FUNCTION OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES AS A FACTOR IN NATIONAL INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

By Karol LUTOSTANSKI,

*Professor at the Joseph Pilsudski University, Warsaw.
Chairman of the Polish National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.*

[Point 5, II, G, on the Agenda.]

It is practically impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the function of our committees in national intellectual life and their function in international life. These two aspects of their activities are so closely interrelated that every detail is at the same time national and international.

One feature, indeed, which distinguishes our committees from other apparently similar bodies is this indissoluble union of the two characteristics — national and international — which is reflected in their very title.

We view the creative effort of our own country in terms of its power to influence the outside world, and we view international intellectual life in terms of its power to impregnate and enrich our national genius.

All our activities must promote the interests of national and of international culture alike.

Every civilisation derives its originality from its native soil, the soil in which it has struck its roots, but as it blossoms it turns to the sun that shines on all nations. The higher the barriers which divide us, the deeper the shadow that is cast over our civilisations and over the activities of our committees themselves.

This harmony between our national duties and our duties towards mankind as a whole is an essential factor in modern civilisation ; even when defending its own frontiers, every country is defending civilisation in general, and in defending its own liberty it is defending the cause of international justice. " The happiness of our own country can but be a part of the happiness of mankind."

Notwithstanding their dual character, the national committees have long been regarded simply as auxiliary organs of one or other of the international centres — the International Committee or the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. This is of course quite comprehensible when one recalls the origin of the national committees, which were created on a suggestion from Geneva and placed under the high protection of the League of Nations.

Some of the national committees quickly outgrew this first stage in their development. Requirements arising out of the progress of modern intellectual life impressed on the committees the necessity of appealing to the intellectual life of their own countries. This came about quite naturally, as work begun on national lines often took shape under the influence of a deliberate policy instituted by the central intellectual co-operation organs. The national committees thus became from the outset factors in the co-ordination of certain national work which formed part of a scheme of international intellectual co-operation. It is sufficient to mention here the period of enquiries — manifold and often difficult — carried out in several countries.

On the other hand, the long continuance of this " passive " rôle of the national committees towards the central organs of intellectual co-operation began to have a harmful effect on the activities of the committees themselves, particularly as there has been a considerable increase in the requests for information from these international organs.

This extension of the committees' spheres of activity on national lines, originally adapted to meet the outside requirements of the central organs of intellectual co-operation or of other national organs proceeding on parallel lines, has subsequently become a vital necessity.

It is obvious that the more important the part played by those committees in their own countries the greater will be the influence they exercise abroad. For every Committee derives from its own country the vital strength required for international expansion.

This harmony between the two factors — national and international — which is, as we have seen, the characteristic feature of our committees, must be jealously preserved. Failing it, the committees might forget their true rôle ; they might become purely national organs, regarding international co-operation simply as a matter of political propaganda, or they might become exclusively international organs, not sufficiently in touch with the intellectual life of their own countries.

* * *

What then are the national functions of a national committee ?

I shall venture to make a few observations suggested by the experience of the Polish Committee, which I have the honour to represent here. I fully realise that that experience is not in itself adequate, and that the results obtained fall far short of our desires. It does, however, possess certain merits ; it is alive, it is born of concrete necessities, and it is not the outcome of abstract ideas on organisation. These observations will perhaps serve as a background to indicate the possibilities of developing national life with the assistance of international co-operation, thus emphasising the usefulness of such co-operation from the point of view of the countries participating.

I.

1. In the first group of our Committee's national activities I shall include those which owe their origin to its initiative and are proceeding under its auspices. Several of them were, indeed, suggested by the International Committee or by the Paris Institute.

Thus the conferences on higher international studies gave us an opportunity of grouping in a *Central Committee of Polish Institutions for Political Sciences* institutions which are dealing with the study of international relations in Poland. The Central Committee is entirely autonomous ; our Committee offers it help and assistance, ensures the continuity of its work and keeps very closely in touch with it, simply reserving the right to intervene should the need arise. The success of the Central Committee's activities, of which there has been ample evidence in recent years, is due in some measure to this atmosphere of confidence and to the elasticity of organisation which obtains in the relations between the Central Committee and our Committee.

2. Similarly, the interest aroused by the International Congress of Popular Arts at Prague was utilised by our national committee to create a *Committee on Popular Arts*. The rôle of this Committee in our country may be realised by visiting the Polish section at the exhibition now being held at the *Palais des Danses*.

3. There is the same co-operation between our National Committee and the *International School Correspondence Bureau*, which is at present taking part in the international exhibition at the Musée pédagogique. The Bureau is an autonomous organisation, created under the auspices of our National Committee in response to a welcome proposal from Paris. Various proposals, all with the same object and all of interest, but unrelated to one another, have been co-ordinated by the Committee, with the consent of the school authorities. It is unnecessary here to stress the intellectual influence brought to bear on our youth by the exchange of some thousands of letters with the youth of seventeen other countries, or the extent of this movement, which is evidenced by the fact that several hundreds of teachers of foreign languages in Poland are participating.

4. Similar links exist between our Committee and the *Foreigners' Holiday Courses in Polish Language and Civilisation* (this year they are to be held at Cracow, Poznań and Warsaw). We have ourselves been pleasantly surprised by the results already obtained in this sphere. Despite international exchange difficulties, there has been a steady increase in the attendance at these courses (this year we expect to have as many as a hundred foreigners studying the Polish language), and the effects of these courses are becoming more and more evident in Poland itself. Both in the case of teachers and in that of our young people who extend a welcome to these foreigners, friendly and sometimes even permanent relations are established which are evidence of real international co-operation.

5. Again, as the result of an international proposal, our Committee has instituted a comprehensive *examination of foreign school text-books*. Thirty experts have so far examined 307 text-books. Apart from its more general purpose, this work is arousing in Poland the keenest interest in foreign text-books, and similarly the authors of our text-books will welcome observations from abroad.

II.

In the second group of our Committee's work I would include those activities which owe their origin to suggestions of the Committee itself but which have subsequently been handed over to other autonomous institutions. As an example, may be mentioned the creation in Poland of the *Authors' Copyright Society*, which was the immediate outcome of the Congress of the International Literary and Artistic Association organised with the help of our Committee at Warsaw. Thus, there now exists in Poland an active centre of studies on problems relating to intellectual rights. Our Committee allows the society the use of its premises and largely assists in its work.

In this same category might also be included several tasks confided by our Committee to other independent institutions in various spheres — e.g., the study of questions relating to unemployment among intellectuals (entrusted to the Society of the Friends of University Youth), the publication of the "Catalogue of Polish Museums" (prepared with the assistance of the Association of Museums in Poland), the examination of problems of higher education (three publications prepared with the assistance of university establishments), etc. These activities will permit of solving certain urgent problems which, but for this external stimulus, would get no further than schemes and good intentions for many a day.

III.

The third group of the national activities of our Committee includes those activities for which it is itself responsible. It edits certain publications relating to intellectual co-operation in the national and international spheres, or assists other institutions in publishing similar works. Among its activities may be mentioned the organisation in Poland of international congresses, lectures by foreign scientists and statesmen, the maintenance of contact with various official bodies, etc.

The first group of our Committee's activities is the most important of the three ; it includes the best organised work, which bears fullest fruit and has the profoundest effect on human relations. This work appears to us to be a normal factor in any conception of intellectual co-operation and to play a vital part in shaping the destinies of our country, which are themselves a factor in human civilisation.

* * *

I shall now put forward a few general proposals suggested by the experience of our Committee. They contain nothing new, for they are based on material with which all the other national committees are already acquainted. Since, moreover, these proposals are the outcome of the experience of a single country, it cannot be said that they are necessarily suitable for all.

It is impossible to lay down for all committees precise directions for the pursuit of their activities on national lines so as to ensure the dual character which national committees on intellectual co-operation should rightly possess. The conditions under which the different committees are working are too varied for this to be possible.

Our suggestions include the following :

1. A national committee should aim primarily at carrying out in its country a scheme of work instituted by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. This does not, however, preclude the carrying out of certain work by a national committee on its own initiative.

2. The essential rôle of a national committee, both in its relations within the country and in its external relations, should be that of organisation and mediation. It should take up a proposal already discussed and accepted by the central intellectual co-operation organs, and, after examining

it from a national point of view, should decide how it may be adapted and put into effect in its own country. In transferring it to the national plane, the committee should entrust the carrying-out of the proposal either to existing national institutions or to *ad hoc* institutions set up by itself. In the latter case, the committee will offer help and protection. Several institutions of this kind may be attached to certain of our committees, thus constituting all over the world cultural centres participating in international activities. In this way, the national committees will avoid overlapping and unnecessary competition with other organisations. While not directly concerned with the details of execution, a national committee should not lose sight either of the scheme of international intellectual co-operation or of the guiding principle of national effort in this sphere.

One important feature of the activities of any national committee should be its participation in the work of the official authorities of its country — e.g., the framing and conclusion of bilateral or regional intellectual agreements. The Assembly of the League of Nations has itself expressed this view. It is very important for the future of our committees, and perhaps also for that of the agreements themselves, that such participation should be more actively pursued.

3. A national committee should contribute towards strengthening international co-operation, both on the national plane and in its external activities. It should remain faithful to the principles of the League of Nations. The ideas of "moral disarmament" and respect for the dignity of every nation should find expression first and foremost in the activities of the committee in its own country. Thus a committee should, by its work, inspire confidence in international co-operation and strengthen in its own country respect for the civilising mission which other nations are also carrying out for the common good of mankind.

4. A national committee should be above political misunderstanding and wrangling, alike in national and international matters. It cannot in any case be influenced by ill-will, since its purpose is, not to increase disagreement, but to pave the way for international understanding and harmony. The fact that this course is so natural in the intellectual sphere justifies the hope that disagreements which have arisen between nations in other spheres of the struggle for existence may similarly be removed.

The work of the national committees, which maintain the balance between their two essential functions — the national and the international — represents an increasingly constructive contribution towards the progress of modern civilisation.

STRUCTURE OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION.

By Dr. Peter MUNCH,
*Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark,
Chairman of the Danish national Committee on
Intellectual Co-operation.*

[Point 5, III, of the Agenda.]

In July 1936, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was called upon to revise certain clauses of the statute of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation so as to bring it into concordance with the new general rules that had been drawn up for application to all the Advisory Committees of the Council of the League of Nations.

It instructed its Executive Committee to carry out this work of drafting and revision, and asked it to consider also the desirability of framing a new statute for the Organisation "such as would be likely to provide the latter with a legal and administrative foundation in keeping with its development". It has often been suggested indeed that since, by virtue of its very character, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is less affected in its work by political difficulties than any other organisation of the League of Nations, it should be enabled to fulfil with the greatest possible freedom the essential rôle of *rapprochement* and conciliation assigned to it and to devote itself to promoting a spirit of greater mutual understanding.

It has been pointed out that, although the Covenant of the League of Nations did not explicitly prescribe the definite tasks entrusted to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, it more or less inferred them, since it was wholly based on the principles of cultural collaboration which the Organisation set out to develop. It presupposes world-wide agreement on moral conceptions and a community of intellects in the quest for peace through a better organisation of international relations. It is perhaps in this field that the human intellect, so rightly proud of the notable progress made by science both in theory and practice, has been the least successful, a fact which still further enhances the importance of the work entrusted to our Organisation.

* * *

1. It is incumbent upon us to examine by what means this rôle which it fills in the programme of the League of Nations could be facilitated. I have referred above to the recommendation voted last year by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation at Geneva. If our Conference endeavours to reply to that recommendation by formulating definite suggestions, which our national committees would agree to support in their respective countries and submit to their Governments with the request that they support them at Geneva before the League of Nations, I believe that we should respond to the wishes of the International Committee in the most useful and effective manner, and that we might perhaps make it possible for it to introduce the improvements which it desires in the working of the Organisation.

2. A certain number of points, which I shall briefly recall, have already been settled. Approved in 1926 by a specific resolution of the Assembly of the League of Nations, the existence of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was formally recognised by the Assembly in its resolution of September 24th, 1931. The Organisation was thus placed on the same footing as the other technical (economic, financial, transit and health) sections of the League of Nations.

The resolution voted in 1931 enumerates the working parts of the Organisation : the International Committee, set up as an advisory body of the League of Nations and entrusted with the direction of the undertaking — a permanent committee at the disposal of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, and, through them, of all the Governments associated with its activities ; the numerous expert committees responsible to the International Committee ; the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which is the executive of the Committee and of which, by virtue of the agreements approved by the Council in December 1924, the Committee acts as Governing Body ; the International Educational Cinematographic Institute ; and, lastly, the national committees on intellectual co-operation.

All the necessary machinery required for the working of a technical organisation has therefore been provided for and set up, in accordance with formulæ essentially belonging to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and suited to the activities it pursues. We can consider, for example, that the national committees constitute, as it were, a permanent general intellectual assembly working in close conjunction with the International Committee and foregathered to-day for the second time to state its views on the work already accomplished and to offer suggestions regarding a future programme, for which an abundance of important questions commend themselves to our attention.

Liaison with Governments, for that part of the work which concerns official departments, is assured by the ordinary machinery of the League of Nations and by the governmental delegates to the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. In addition to an assembly such as we are here attending, the Organisation is, of course, at liberty to convene diplomatic conferences like the one which, last year, adopted and opened for the signature of Governments the Convention on the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace. Lastly, the Secretariat of the Committee is itself seconded by a special executive which we owe to the French Government's generosity, whose work is familiar to you, and which makes it possible to arrange for a far greater number of meetings of international committees composed of experts and technicians qualified to deal with all the questions comprised in the vast field of intellectual activity than would otherwise be the case.

The International Committee has therefore seen the fulfilment of the wish it expressed in the years that followed its formation in 1922 ; it has been equipped with the executive bodies that can give effect to its recommendations and suggestions, and enable it to lay concrete results before the League of Nations.

3. It does not follow, however, that this machinery is not capable of improvement ; experience has proved that the possibilities of action in the intellectual sphere are immense and varied. The International Committee and its auxiliary services have been obliged to make a drastic selection from among the needs that were making themselves felt. I do not wish to encroach upon the task which I know my colleagues will carry out so admirably, on the basis of M. Focillon to report, nor will I once again go over the work that has been done, or the questions to which we should or might devote our attention. The discussions that have taken place, however, clearly prove that an extension of all our activities in the future is fully justified.

This result can be obtained without changing radically what already exists. The strength of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation lies in the fact that it is incorporated in the League of Nations, in the consequent guarantee of impartiality that characterises the work it undertakes for the benefit of all countries, and in the contribution it makes to the efforts pursued at Geneva towards international organisation. It is by establishing regular points of contact between all our national activities that the League of Nations creates and constructs ; and you have seen that it is that object which the International Committee proposes to attain in the intellectual sphere. It is desirable, therefore, that nothing in the general structure of the Organisation should be changed, and that no modification should be made in the present relations between the institutions which compose it and the directing organisations of the League of Nations — the Council and the Assembly ; on the other hand, it is desirable that new means of action should be placed at its disposal.

4. In order to determine the conditions in which this development, which we are all anxious to see, might be brought about, it must be borne in mind that the technical Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation occupies a special position in relation to the other organisations of the League of Nations. Like them, it has a co-ordinating task to fulfil in respect of our different national departments, such as the ministries of public education, the ministries of fine arts and the principal museums.

But it could not carry out its mission fully if its methods and procedure were not of an extremely flexible character. First of all, even in this field of official intercourse, the differences that exist between the constitutions of our various countries preclude the application of uniform methods ; for example, the relations between the State and the education authorities are far from being the same in Great Britain as they are in most of the continental countries, while marked differences are to be noted between centralised countries and Federal States. Another reason is that an intellectual co-operation organisation should remain in the closest possible touch with all the different branches of the intellectual world, with the major organisations which group together writers or scholars and educators, and in fact with all who devote their life to the advancement of culture.

This result cannot be obtained without a certain degree of autonomy, and this is happily borne out by the very way in which the Organisation has grown. It is to this privilege which our Organisation enjoys, under the responsibility of the International Committee, that the creation

and development of the International Studies Conference is due, to cite but one example. The activities which you have been called upon to examine, include, as you know, a scheme for grouping the institutions and university professorships concerned with international relations which exist in a large number of countries, and for studying, with every latitude and with the appropriate objectivity, the question of present international relations in their formidable complexity.

5. We find, therefore, in the present system the elements required for a satisfactory adjustment of the work to be done; all that is needed is to define them and to pave the way for improvement.

(a) In the first place, liaison with the general programme of the League of Nations must continue to be ensured by the Geneva Secretariat, whose Intellectual Co-operation Section assumes, in regard both to the International Committee on the one hand, and to the Council and the Assembly on the other, administrative responsibility for the functioning of the Organisation. Under that guarantee, the normal work of liaison between the official departments and institutions that deal with intellectual questions in the different countries should be performed, in accordance with the principles observed by the other technical organisations in Geneva, by the committees and institutes which form part of the Organisation.

(b) The Intellectual Co-operation Section of the Secretariat should, moreover, be given an opportunity of developing certain special subjects, particularly that entrusted to its School Information Centre: League of Nations Teaching and instruction in the principles and facts of international collaboration.

(c) It has, lastly, a special duty to perform, that of establishing liaison between the directing bodies of the League of Nations and the specialised institutions in Rome and Paris.

(d) Independently of the ways and means which the League of Nations may place at the disposal of the international committees and of the Geneva Secretariat for carrying out the work assigned to them, it would be desirable to reinforce the action exercised by the International Committee through its executive organ, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

The Institute, by virtue of its organic statute, has not only to execute the decisions of the International Committee but also to work under the direction of that committee "to further the organisation of intellectual activity throughout the world by international collaboration". It is thanks to this provision that it has been possible to introduce, in the relations which the Committee maintains with intellectual institutions and learned societies, that flexibility to which I have just alluded. There can be no doubt, however, that these relations might be very extensively developed. To attain this end, it would seem desirable to increase the present number of states which contribute to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, advantage being taken of the autonomy granted to it by the terms of its Statute.

Viewing the present position, it may indeed be said that, with very few exceptions, all the nations of the world collaborate in the work of the Institute: it includes every State member of the League of Nations and even most of the States which are not members.

Nevertheless, this situation of fact calls, in my opinion, for juridical interpretation. The agreements whereby the Institute was founded were concluded between the French Government and the League of Nations. They provide for the active participation of the other States, but they do not stipulate that these States may individually bind themselves to give support. Nevertheless, eighteen of them pay a contribution to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and forty-four have appointed "governmental delegates". It would seem desirable to supplement the agreements of 1924 by an Additional Act that would be open to the signature of States and would give the Institute the same status as that of other international organisations formed by the conclusion of agreements or multilateral treaties, while allowing it to remain in closer contact with the League of Nations.

The provisions of this instrument, the study and preparation of which might form the subject of a recommendation by this Conference to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, might first of all recognise the value of the results already achieved by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and state the desirability of facilitating the task of the International Institute as defined in the agreement relative to its creation, concluded between the Council of the League of Nations and the French Government; the supplementary protocol might also state that the provisions of the Institute's organic statute are fully in concordance with the world mission assigned to it.

Next, I suggest that we should invite the Governments which proclaim their sympathy for the work accomplished under the auspices of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in the field of international *rapprochement* to declare their readiness to afford the International Institute their moral and material support by giving the assurance that their official departments will place at the Institute's disposal all the documents and information required for the pursuit of its activities, and by paying an annual contribution, the amount of which would be left to their discretion and determined by their respective possibilities. Lastly, each of the Governments of the signatory States would be granted the right to be represented at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation by a delegate whose duty it would be to follow its work and ensure liaison with the official authorities of his country.

This declaration would be open to the signature of the States Members as well as the States non-members of the League of Nations; it would be deposited with the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

This is merely an outline proposal; indeed, I do not think that it is for us to prepare a definitive text or that it would be possible to draft it at this Conference. We can, however, draw the attention of the International Committee, and, through it, of the Assembly of the League of Nations, to the desirability of introducing the legal improvements which I have suggested. These amendments would have the advantage of defining the Institute's position more clearly, of consolidating its structure, of developing its means of action and thus of enabling it to fulfil with

still greater freedom its rôle of international secretariat for intellectual questions. I have already stressed the importance of the liaison established, not only with the national departments, but also with the autonomous organisations in the world of human thought, and I feel that this point cannot be over-emphasised. I would add that I should be extremely grateful to the members of this Conference if they would kindly formulate their suggestions regarding the problem that I have submitted to them, and if they would contribute fresh ideas, more particularly with regard to the steps that should be envisaged and recommended with a view to attaining the object which we have legitimately set before us.

6. You have doubtless noticed that, as I pointed out above, these proposals do not involve any modification in the general structure of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. Neither do they affect the status of the national committees on intellectual co-operation, nor the extension of their authority in our respective countries; I have left that task to my distinguished colleague, M. Balbino Giuliano, the rapporteur on this question.

Lastly, I have not yet spoken of the extension, which we of course all consider desirable, of the prerogatives of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation itself. Indirectly, however, that object would, to a certain extent, be attained. The Committee is, as you know, the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and it has a Secretariat at Geneva to deal with its liaison with the various component parts of its general programme of work. Thanks to the proposed increase in the resources offered to the Institute, it would henceforward be in a position to make a larger contribution to the new structure of international relations.

But the debate that is to take place on the next item of the agenda will enable our Conference — after hearing the reports of M. de Reynold and M. Huizinga, to whom I must leave the initiative in this matter — to express its views on the part which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should play in international life.

For the time being, I think that our essential task should be to give our consideration to the improvements that can be made in the machinery permanently at the disposal of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

In conclusion, I think that we may nevertheless express the wish that the Council of the League of Nations and its Assembly will avail themselves on every possible occasion, through the International Committee, of the services that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation can render to the League of Nations. Requests have, it is true, been frequently addressed to that Organisation, but I feel that in many other instances where delicate problems are concerned it might be invited to prepare useful studies and arrange for objective consultations. The International Committee is well placed for drawing upon the unlimited resources of the intellectual world, of science and thought; experience has proved that it could assemble experts of the highest quality, offering to all concerned the maximum guarantee of objectivity. There are to-day a multiplicity of problems which are common to all our countries and which, outside the range of immediate political or economic anxieties, need to be studied by the usual methods of international collaboration.

I will give you one example amongst many others: At the last Assembly of the League of Nations, the Danish delegation moved a proposal which, after discussion, was unanimously adopted, inviting the League of Nations to draw up a plan of action for the furthering of mutual understanding between nations by a judicious utilisation of the new technical instruments of spreading information.

This recommendation, which is addressed to the directing organisations of the League of Nations, can also be converged to the Governments themselves; on numerous occasions, the latter have had recourse to the help of the technical organisations of the League; we earnestly hope that, in the future, they will avail themselves, whenever the opportunity arises, of the resources and guarantees to be found in our Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

FUNCTION OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION IN THE ORGANISATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD.

I.

By M. J. HUIZINGA,

President of the Netherlands Royal Academy of Science.

[Point 5, IV, of the Agenda.]

Having been requested to submit a report on the part played by intellectual co-operation in the organisation of the world of to-day, I have asked myself whether I was expected to deal with the specific activities of the institution established by the League of Nations, which brings us together here, or rather with the idea of intellectual co-operation in general. As I felt free to interpret my theme in either way, and as, after the interesting reports we have had from M. Focillon, M. Giuliano, M. Munch and M. de Reynold, I could hardly expect to discover new aspects of our intellectual co-operation as an organism, I have simply cut the knot by choosing to comment upon the theme of intellectual co-operation in general. So I am going to propound the question: what is the part played by intellectual co-operation as a force in social life, apart from the special activity of our Institution, in the world of to-day? What part can it play in the future?

Some of you will remember that when this institution was first organised by the League of Nations, the translation of *coopération intellectuelle* into English caused some difficulty. It appeared that neither the word intellectual nor the word co-operation meant exactly the same thing, or

conveyed exactly the same notion, in French as in English. So subtle is the difference of national civilisations, an eloquent warning against any rash internationalism of the levelling type! It was the English who set the example of true internationalism, which is a thing of courtesy and indulgence, by giving way and allowing both terms to be used as English words but in the French sense. Since then, there has been no doubt as to the meaning of the term "intellectual co-operation".

And yet, whether we take it in English or in French, at bottom, the term "intellectual co-operation" can hardly be called a happy find. It is a function of the intellect to co-operate. A non-co-operating intellect is a barren intellect. Intellectual co-operation is the working of civilisation itself, and has been so ever since human society existed. After all, the League of Nations must have meant quite another thing, and a much bigger thing, than was verbally expressed by this rather too exclusive term of "intellectual co-operation".

It was the general belief that, now that the war was over, international civilisation, as it had prevailed during the nowadays-much-decried nineteenth century and after, would resume its course more splendidly than before, and all were prepared and willing to remove the shackles which, after the temporary interruption of the world's cultural life, hindered the full display of international concord and collaboration in the realms of the mind.

An intellectual co-operation which transcends the boundaries of State, race or nation, is certainly nothing new. In point of fact most of the really important victories of civilisation have been won along lines of international intercourse. First and foremost, this holds true of Christianity itself. It is the same with the admirable system of theology and philosophy called "scholasticism", the product of an intense international collaboration of Italian, French, German, Spanish and English thinkers. Art, during the whole of the Middle Ages, expanded by a continuous transfer and borrowing of forces and elements, from east to west, and from south to north. The movements we comprise under the names of "humanism" and "Renaissance", however predominant the Italian share, hardly knew any barriers of political character. In the seventeenth century, science sprang up in a constant friendly labour of different nationalities, unhampered even when their States were at war with one another.

The past century added immensely to the means of international intercourse, and seemingly also to the spirit of world-wide intellectual co-operation. In recent times, nearly all the remaining material impediments which stood in the way of close and permanent international contact have fallen away one after another. We fly the length of Europe in a day, we can hear half the globe talking at the touch of a button. How then can there be anything lacking for the most extensive and most perfect intellectual co-operation the world has ever known?

Nearly everything is lacking. Looking beneath the surface, we must sadly confess that there is rather reason to speak of intellectual co-operation as the lingering afterglow of a better world than ours, than as a dawning light radiating ever farther through a reborn society conscious of its possibilities and looking steadily forward.

Intellectual co-operation, that glorious power of past ages which is as old as Christianity, is now threatened with failure and is being edged out of our social life by two forces of appalling strength, hypernationalism and its ally, the spirit of advertisement. It is the first time in the history of the Western world that the ideal of international unity has in many places been deliberately and explicitly disclaimed and abjured. We shall have to revert to hypernationalism, that canker of our age, later on. As regards the spirit of advertisement, a few words will suffice. By advertisement, I mean putting forward for public attention statements intended to win over the masses to adopting a cause, be it of a tooth-brush or of a *Wellenschaung*, in the promotion of which the advertiser has an interest. The veracity of the statement is only taken into account in so far as it must conform to the critical spirit of the masses, it stands in inverse proportion to their gullibility.

Having originated with politics rather than with trade, the craft of advertising was developed by the latter, until in recent times politics has again taken possession of it, soon to leave commerce far behind in the use of this poisoned weapon. Political advertising, that monstrous excrescence of modern civilisation, is the deadliest foe of international understanding and collaboration.

What can intellectual co-operation still achieve for the organisation of our social life, in the face of these forbidding opponents of hypernationalism and advertising? What is the field in which international co-operation can still work, what are the means left to it to make itself effective?

Let us very briefly review the principal domains of civilisation as to their fitness for receiving the seed of internationalism. But first one word to make clear what we mean by internationalism.

Unlike a former age, we no longer see internationalism as the shapeless order arising out of and resting on nothing more concrete than the eternal principles of common humanity, virtue and brotherhood. Though they must ever remain the supreme ideal, every common activity towards their accomplishment must first take the form and go through the stage of national expression. The immense power and the indispensable value of nationality as the bearer of social life and civilisation stands in the forefront of our conception of internationalism. The word itself implies the existence of different nations acting together. Internationalism always means exchange, transfer of values, mutual understanding and mutual forbearance.

We all know the immutable character, not only of a nation's being as a whole, but also of the several qualities, habits or idiosyncrasies proper to each nation. Every national entity contains elements so absolutely peculiar to it as to exclude the possibility of their being transferred to another nation. Such elements do not offer stuff for positive international co-operation. Neither do elements which of their own nature are common to all nations alike. This is the case with economic services, technical skill, scientific facts. They may be transferred from one nation to another or to all others, but as they bear no national mark at all, their transmission does not mean either an addition to international understanding or an enrichment of genuine national values. Our point here is to enquire whether there is a group of values essentially national in

nature but at the same time suitable for exportation. For it will be here that real international intellectual co-operation may gain a footing.

It is unfortunate that in the search for what I might call exportable values, one immediately comes up against the all too obvious fact that it is the least valuable elements of a civilisation which have proved themselves most assured of eager and widespread foreign markets. I am not thinking only of crazes, in art as well as in fashions or pseudo-science, but of nonsense in general. It is subject to no duties or quotas. In the case of nonsense, a foreign trademark is rather a help than an impediment to penetration elsewhere.

For a real transfer of national values two conditions must be fulfilled. First, the national product must be new to the foreign nation accepting it. It must be a gain, a discovery, a surprise, a revelation. The simple exchange of goods because they are cheaper or better does not engender the sort of international contact which we wish to promote. It is not similarity which matters but difference. The other condition is that the cultural element in question should not meet with a national resistance on the other side stronger than the impetus of its transmission.

Coming now to our rapid survey of the principal domains of civilisation from the point of view of their fitness for international transfer leading up to international co-operation, let us first take religion. We have stated before that Christianity itself has always been the most powerful organism of international activity. It remains so to-day, and must gain strength by persecution as it has always done. Œcumenic tendencies are strong in religious thought throughout the world. Spiritual movements, through our perfect means of communication, spread more readily than ever before. West tries to understand East, and to profit by this understanding. The spirit of advertising itself is aping religion by providing ready-made national creeds.

With true religion, whatever national stamp it may bear, the problem of international intellectual co-operation is solved.

Passing to philosophy, science and scholarship we find the case less clear than we might expect. In principle, all of these migrate easily into a foreign culture. The limited circle of their direct recipients, however, makes the extension and the intensity of their function as a nation-linking power rather small. Moreover, science has so much the nature of an "anational" element that it hardly transplants national feelings at all, except inasmuch as its practice creates personal contacts and the reciprocal understanding which they should and often do entail.

Philosophy and scholarship are neither of them immune from the danger of national preoccupations. Even philosophy may be adulterated to serve national ends and so become the handmaid of tyranny. Scholarship, even when dealing with remote or abstract subjects, is so closely linked to each national culture that it can be vitiated at any moment by influences foreign to its essence. The great things of the past, Israel, Hellas, the wisdom of the East, are always understood by and through a national mind. Once the lasting significance of a work of poetry, or a fact of history, has been understood anywhere outside the circle of its origin, it becomes part of the treasures of the adopting culture. Dante belongs first to Italy, then to each nation that worships his greatness, ultimately to the eternal treasures of humanity. But we are already wandering from scholarship to art and poetry.

To conclude with scholarship: if all is well, it is one of the most fertile soils for the international spirit. It is a pity that nowadays products of scholarship, valuable in themselves, sometimes seem so seasoned with the national flavourings as to become unpalatable for foreign tastes and unfit for exportation.

Are political values — that is to say, theories and systems of organisation and government — transferable from one nation to another? There is one great instance of a political system deliberately copied from the original model and put into practice all over the world. It is parliamentary government, as it was rooted in the English soil by the growth of many centuries. Has the exportation of this mighty political organism been a success? Some say that other nations have never completely understood the handling of it. Great Britain does, and perhaps, in spite of its apparent decline, parliamentary government, in the hands of the United Kingdom, may yet prove to be the life-belt of a drowning Europe.

Ever since the French Revolution, there have been ceaseless efforts to persuade other nations of the excellence of political ideas or systems triumphant at home. To-day, such endeavours are more fervent than ever before, but it would be difficult indeed to bring them under the head of international intellectual co-operation.

In order to find a field not beset with all sorts of obstacles to the working of "transnational fecundation", we must turn to the æsthetic domain, to art and literature. These would seem to be the only really innocuous occupations of the human mind. It is not mere chance that our intellectual co-operation organisation has found its most unhampered action and won its most fruitful results in dealing with matters of art and literature. National prejudice is less disturbing here than anywhere else, because to enter into the realm of æsthetic perception and production demands first of all a spiritual disarmament and a surrender. Poetry and art only work in an atmosphere of detachment and sympathy.

But detachment and surrender are not among the virtues most commonly taught and practised in the present world. The atmosphere and the mood required for real intellectual co-operation is seriously lacking. And yet this mood must prevail before anything can be done. It seems almost impossible to instil the beneficent charm of sympathy into the political or national units of to-day. The political organism has set its face against surrender to these strains of thought and feeling, and repels them. It is the individual who will have to be won over. The habits of mind of the average European will have to change.

We are gradually passing here from the question of what can be done in the field of intellectual co-operation to the question of how it can be done. The outlook here is even less propitious. We seem to be a long way from the general change of mind necessary to our cultural welfare. Our age is a savage one. We sometimes seem to have reverted to all the primitive passions and vices of our remote forefathers, their disregard of human life, their cunning mendacity, their pernicious habit of childish boasting, while lacking the redeeming force of their awe of the divine.

What then can each of us do, in his own small way, to prepare the soil for renewed and pure civilisation? The method itself seems easy enough, but how to effect it? How salutary it would be if the world at large would adopt the social habit of all civilised people of not boasting of their own merits. If only it came to be regarded as bad taste to comment loudly upon the merits of your own country, the world would gain immensely in the pursuit of happiness. You do not shout to the world the perfection of your faith, because it is holy to you. You do not praise your love in public. Then if your nation is holy to you and you love it, why should you extol its merits with deafening noise and pompous pride? Hypernationalism, including Bolshevism as a variant, is the curse of our age. Perhaps, in times to come, these distortions, once they are over, will be ranked by history with the burning of witches and human sacrifices in past ages.

But always the question returns: what is one to do, how to act? How to tackle the problem, where to assail the enemy? In recent years, there has been much writing of books (I myself am guilty of one) all turning upon the question: what is wrong with civilisation? I should be running counter to my own judgment if I called it useless to point out the symptoms of the evil, the nature and the extent of that astounding moral lapse from which humanity is suffering to-day. It is no doubt highly necessary that we should be warned again and again how many essential values our present day Western civilisation has lost, when compared with the really greatest epochs of human history. At the core of all our suffering is the painful want of a higher purpose in personal life. Such a purpose is the fountain-head of the inward harmony which is the essence of civilisation.

But let us realise that in order to promote this harmony in ourselves and in others, the writing of semi-learned or popular books is not enough. That must always remain more or less a call from one ivory tower to another. Intellectual co-operation, aimed at influencing and modifying the process of organisation of the world of to-day, should be directed vertically before it can spread horizontally. It is the masses, in the wide sense Ortega y Gasset gave to that word, which must be brought back to a purer conception of civilisation. This means that the real work of education has to be done, in every nation, individually.

And here we are brought to a curious conclusion. Political perversion has caused most of our ills, yet it is in political sentiment that the curative forces may most easily set in. To teach the masses to avoid any exaggeration of their national feeling, to despise and resist tyranny in all the new shapes it takes, and to revere order and respect for others, might prepare them for the recovery of real civilisation. However we conceive our task of intellectual co-operation, we are at best only tuning the instruments for future work.

In this humble and preliminary task, the ideal of intellectual co-operation and the organisation given to it by the League of Nations are at one.

II.

By M. Gonzague DE REYNOLD,

*Chairman of the Swiss National Committee on
Intellectual Co-operation.*

[Point 5, IV, of the Agenda.]

Following the example of my colleague, Professor Huizinga, I shall take as my starting point, not the organisation (though I shall speak of it) but the idea of intellectual co-operation. Can this idea exert an influence, can intellectual co-operation play a part in the contemporary world, in this world of disequilibrium and disharmony, in a Europe which has ceased to be homogeneous?

I.

A disciple of Confucius once asked his master what would be his first action if he was made emperor of China. Confucius replied: "I should begin by fixing the meaning of words". I shall therefore begin by fixing that of the word "co-operation" which, since 1922, we have continually used in our reports and speeches.

The word came into the French language through the door of theology. Its first meaning is that of the action, or effect of divine grace on the soul of man in bringing about his own good. The "co-operating grace" is that which is added to the human will and which follows it in order to help it. Reciprocally, man's will co-operates with "grace" when it tries to deserve it and to keep it. Thus in the words "co-operation" and "co-opérate" is found the idea of a co-ordinated action for a common good. "Co-operation" is thus a stronger term than "collaboration". While the latter signifies simply that one shares with others in an agreed and limited task, "co-operation" implies a closer agreement, a more determined determination, a predisposition of the spirit and aspiration towards a common idea.

When we talk of intellectual co-operation, this common ideal consists of spiritual values, civilisation in general, indeed peace itself. It requires of all those who make themselves its defenders and promoters a kind of vocation which simple collaboration does not require.

By this, I do not at all mean to say that, in order to co-operate, it is necessary to take our stand on an ideology like angels on a cloud. On the contrary, ideologies are the sworn enemies of all intellectual co-operation. Ideologies engender fanaticism, which is a mental passion for the abstract. There is nothing which narrows and clouds the intelligence, nothings which weakens the meaning of life so much as fanaticism. Fanaticism kills curiosity. But curiosity about what one does not know, about what one does not understand, about what one does not like, is the essential condition of all intellectual co-operation. Without this prerequisite and sympathetic curiosity, the contemporary world remains incomprehensible, and all attempt to influence that world is doomed to failure.

The aim of intellectual co-operation is to bring men's minds into harmony : but it cannot require them to abdicate their intelligence. Intellectual co-operation must not be a neutral place with a cloakroom at the entrance where one momentarily leaves one's convictions and personality behind. On the contrary, I think that intellectual co-operation is a place where agreement has been reached on the following fact : A whole great period of history is closed ; we are in an intermediate period between a world which is dying and a world which is being born. During such periods, everything is in a state of flux, the curve of general civilisation declines and peace is threatened. It is therefore more than ever necessary that the best minds should come together and should endeavour to maintain at least in themselves the idea of civilisation, order and peace. Their task is to link the old world to the new ; to save the essential values of the old world, to help the values of the new world to find expression and practical application, and to see that they mutually enlighten and stimulate one another. This implies co-operation in producing synthesis and harmony. But it also implies minds which are different and which are curious of their very differences.

I would compare the action of this sympathetic curiosity to that of the " saving grace ". Co-operation : a word always keeps something of its first meaning, like an impression which other impressions have obliterated without completely effacing it. If intellectual co-operation is directed towards an effort undertaken by men of different character but of goodwill, in order to meet each other, to understand each other, to labour at a work of spiritual salvation, these men will be helped, as well as rewarded, by sympathetic curiosity. It will be unsuccessful if they conspire to impose upon the world some forced and artificial unity, in the name of abstractions or verbal idols. It will be successful if the same men, submitting to reality, accept the contemporary world as it is, not only in its diversity but also in its heterogeneity. It is a mistake, and always was a mistake, to begin with the general and the apparent, a mistake which is the enemy of life, a mistake which is at the bottom of that rationalism which reduces humanity to certain intellectual elements, neglecting the great fashioning forces which are diverse and variable. Humanity and everything which expresses and defines it — civilisation, education, law, justice, liberty, peace — become thus a series of concepts. But when we try to apply these concepts to the realities of life, we are capable only of theories and the effort is sterile.

Such is the mistake from which I want to see intellectual co-operation freed to-day. If ever it has committed this mistake, or has had a tendency to commit it, it would be better for it to abandon itself rather to the opposite tendency, at least for a time. The time necessary for a voyage round the contemporary world, to ask and to find out the deep reasons and causes for which the world has become so dissimilar, nations and peoples have such different mentalities, and why they find it so difficult to understand each other. Here again we need sympathetic curiosity, for it alone can be a guide during the voyage. When we return, we shall perhaps have learnt what the contemporary world is, and we shall perhaps know what part we can play in it. Peoples will always be great mysteries to one another, but certain keen minds can manage to understand them.

II.

What I propose for intellectual co-operation is a new kind of humanism. It is no longer a matter of asking ourselves : " What kind of man do we want ? " as at Nice in 1934. Our task is to know and to understand different and even contradictory men, who behave in a certain way, and to ask ourselves why they behave thus. Our task is to know and understand peoples in their different aspects. I believe that if intellectual co-operation is to play a part in the contemporary world, it must become more national. By this, I mean that it must try to establish more direct contacts with national life. Furthermore, it seems to me that the national committees are called upon to play a part of the first importance, a decisive part in our future.

The aim and the task of intellectual co-operation in the contemporary world is to create a synthesis between nationalism and internationalism. It will be understood that I give a very broad meaning to these words. Nationalism is the consciousness which nations have acquired of their own genius, once their individuality has been established. Internationalism is the relationship and the exchanges which peoples naturally need with one another if they do not want to die of isolation and suffocation. We are here to construct the bridge, like those old bridges of my native city, Fribourg in Nuithonia, which, since the eighteenth century, have linked the German and French banks of the Sarine. We are here to prepare, and perhaps to achieve in certain minds, a new universality, in the sense which Bossuet gives to it : " To understand by the mind what is great in men ".

III.

I would like to see intellectual co-operation abandon theoretical internationalism and devote itself to practical internationalism.

But is practical internationalism yet possible in the contemporary world ?

A serious error has been committed which makes it necessary to begin all over again.

It was an ideological error. Through lack of historical sense and of psychology we have been mistaken about Europe and about the consequences of the war. It is true that in 1919 and 1920, we had great hopes. It was thought that the peoples, disgusted with war, would want only to agree to establish peace ; it was thought that peace was the common aspiration, the common need of all peoples. But the war and the period which followed the war have not created any atmosphere of peace. On the contrary, they have multiplied the causes of divisions and conflicts. One might certainly have foreseen this hard reality. Many indeed had foreseen it. We must adapt ourselves to it as well as we can. As Talleyrand said — I quote from memory — " it is no good getting angry with facts : they remain quite indifferent ".

We are in the presence of a completely different Europe, a completely different world from those of before the war, in the nineteenth century — a Europe which has ceased to be homogeneous, a world which has become much more complicated : that is the first fact, the first piece of evidence. Let us take the linguistic map : since the war the number of national languages, State languages, in Europe has almost doubled. We are far from the time when Latin was the common language of all scholars, when French was the common language of all the nobilities. European civilisation has been broken into fragments. Europe exists no longer, or Europe is no longer any more than a purely geographical expression. As early as 1918, M. Meillet wrote at the end of his work on the languages of the new Europe : " The world is not ripe for a real international unity, which, based on elements common to civilised Europe, could serve for the practical relationships of the whole world ". And M. Meillet was writing before the appearance of Fascism and National-Socialism, at a time when it was possible to believe, and when he believed himself, in the definite triumph of the democratic form of government. A certain unity of political and social regime is a powerful factor of homogeneity for a civilisation. And now this factor has disappeared in its turn. A second fact, a second piece of evidence.

In reality, Europe is in itself incapable of producing a civilisation common to all the peoples which make it up. Europe was born nationalist, in the sense that the European nations are too much differentiated, and in too many ways, to achieve a natural unity. They have only known a spiritual unity, but they have known it. It was not their own work, it was the work of Christianity. The disappearance of religious unity inevitably brought about that of all the other kinds of unity which had been established under it and by means of it : so that we have arrived to-day at the period of greatest division into fragments.

And it is precisely with this period that the greatest attempt at internationalism has been made to coincide, whence a paradoxical situation has arisen. Means of communication are multiplied, trade has ceased to increase ; the longest journeys have become easy and accessible to everyone, we find throughout the world the same palatial hotels where people dressed in the same clothes eat the same food, listening to the same music. The more physical distances between nations and continents have been shortened, the more moral distances, the only ones that count, have grown. Ease of physical communication, difficulty of intellectual communication : that is the characteristic of our age. The result is a disequilibrium and a disharmony of which history has not yet offered us an example.

It is no use counting upon internationalism, at least on a certain kind of internationalism, to remedy this disharmony and disequilibrium. This ideological internationalism, founded on Cartesian reason and the Kantian imperative, is in complete opposition to the main tendencies of the contemporary world. It has against it what I would call the " telluric " forces, the powers of sentiment and instinct. These have burst forth the more violently inasmuch as they had been too long kept under by modern civilisation. The character of modern civilisation from the seventeenth century onwards was intellectual to excess. Founded on reason, education, science — the " lumières " as they were called in the eighteenth century — this civilisation, at the same time too mental and too individualist, was, as we see to-day, as fragile as it was brilliant. The earth on which it was built lacked firmness because it rested on deep cavities where the great fashioning forces were accumulated.

Modern civilisation had the illusion of having succeeded in forming, once and for all, a certain type of man governed by rational intelligence. It had complete confidence in this carefully elaborated type. But the violent reaction which occurred in 1914 showed that man decides and acts, less according to reason, evidence and certain great abstract principles like justice and right, than under the unreasoning impulse of elementary emotions.

The first of these emotions is religious emotion. Christianity had known how to control and direct it. Modern civilisation sought to substitute for Christianity lay religions, of which I would not like here to deny the idealism, generosity and sincerity. But they have not lasted, they could not last, for all their rational façade, because they did not satisfy human nature. It happened then, as it was inevitable that it should happen, that man, detached and weaned from Christianity, returned instinctively to his former paganism, and to what was at the bottom of that paganism : the religion of the tribe, the religion of blood, the religion of the city-state.

For man will always be either pagan or Christian. He will never be naturally or for long secular, rationalist or materialist. Hence the irrational and mystical character of the contemporary world. This instinctive and feeling world, which needs to love, to get enthusiastic, to sacrifice itself for causes, and for which human life, individual life, has little value, will obey more and more those who come and seize the fashioning forces ; it will escape more and more from those who represent intelligence and culture as we have known them up to now. It is a barbarous and even primitive world, like that which grew up on the broken and shattered body of the Roman Empire. Beneath modern appearances, with all our formidable technical methods, in spite of the violent break with the past, the recent past, that of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in spite of our new discoveries, we are still in the presence of a movement of retrogression.

But it was inevitable. The fact must be accepted, understood and used. We must condemn every form of intellectual co-operation which would model itself, in spirit and in method, on the old regime, that of the nineteenth century, and which tries to defend outworn ideologies. The furnace in which Descartes shut himself is no longer of our time, because our time is nearer to Pascal than to Descartes.

Our time is not a time of peace. It is useless to cry : " Peace ! peace ! ", where there is no peace. I believe, too, that we have been mistaken about the nature of peace. Can it be declared, without absurdity, that there exists a sacrosanct doctrine of peace ? That, in order to have peace, it is necessary to impose this doctrine by force, by war ? That a document signed at a certain date in history suffices to establish perpetual peace ? That certain methods, adopted once for all, will be henceforth, at every time, on every occasion, and in every place, those of peace ?

Once more, let us abandon ideologies, which are always dangerous : ideological quarrels are in fact the cruellest of all, but also the most useless and the most exhausting for the mind. Let us cling to the psychological and moral elements which are the effective conditions of real peace. " Peace ", said Saint Augustine, " is the quietness of order, and order is that disposition which, according to the likeness or unlikeness of things, assigns to each one its place. " Peace, which in human life is created daily at one point to be destroyed at another, is the result and the reward of long patience. It is a matter of conciliations, adjustments, *rapprochements*, exchanges. It is a long evolution which we must work to make creative. Peace is a faith, but one which knows how to submit to realities. Peace is charity, but the highest and most difficult kind of charity ; is it not this intellectual charity which we translate here by " mutual understanding " ? Peace is not the monopoly of a single institution, or of a single department : it is a synthesis in which all those who think and suffer are called upon to co-operate.

IV.

The contemporary world — it is necessary that we should realise it — makes all intellectual co-operation extremely difficult. But it shows at the same time how necessary such co-operation is. I might quote here the saying of Taciturnus, but I prefer that other saying of Joseph de Maistre : " Man should act as though he could achieve everything, and resign himself as though he could achieve nothing ". A certain heroic pessimism is necessary to-day. One must be pessimistic in the conception in order to be optimistic in action.

This action, if it is to be successful, must be absolutely disinterested. It must be disinterested and even detached. We must not look for immediate results ; we must prepare for the future. Let us, therefore, be content with little. Let us try to maintain and multiply our contacts. Our organisation should never be a complicated, heavy and rigid machine, but a framework light enough to be carried and supple enough to be adapted. In this moving and changing world, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation would be doomed to sterility if it proved incapable of being constantly transformed according to the needs of the moment. Let us use it in such a way that it will never be overcome by bureaucratic sclerosis or the fussy paralysis of committees.

It is on work well done that it will thrive. But work well done has parasites which undermine and hamper its progress — inflated programmes, excess of documentation, wastage of effort. On the other hand, careful work will win us supporters and friends, because it will be useful.

That is all I have to say, in passing, about our organisation. It is plain and matter-of-fact advice. But is not a great work the sum of small results obtained by little means, methodically and perseveringly applied ? The steeper the mountain is to climb, the slower should be the pace, the more necessary it is to place one's foot each time upon the solid rock.

V.

What then are the main characteristics which intellectual co-operation must assume if it is to emerge from the shadows and play its part on the stage of the contemporary world ?

The first is independence — political independence. This is a matter of life or death for intellectual co-operation. Intellectual co-operation must be independent of politics, first of all by definition, because the plane on which it stands is not that of politics, because intellectual life and political life do not breathe the same air, because the aims and methods and spirit are different. Intellectual co-operation must also be independent of politics because, in the contemporary world, politics — committed to the defence of national interests or even race and class interests — is an element of division whereas intellectual co-operation must strive to unify. Finally, intellectual co-operation must be independent of politics precisely at the point where it is called upon to be of service to politics.

It will be understood that here I allude to the League of Nations. It is agreed that intellectual co-operation was born of the League of Nations, that it belongs to the League of Nations and that it is at the service of the League of Nations. I have no secret plan up my sleeve for dissociating them. But I believe that if intellectual co-operation wants to fulfil the mission which its founders assigned to it, it must claim full and complete autonomy within the framework of the League of Nations.

The political League of Nations is one thing, the intellectual League of Nations is another. The aim and the ideal remain the same : civilisation, order, peace. But the manner of conceiving them and attaining them is not the same, according to whether we approach them from the political or from the intellectual point of view. And even if by politics we mean simply a manner of acting in order to achieve a certain goal, the politics of intellectual co-operation cannot be identical with those of the League of Nations. There are many of us, in every country and in every intellectual sphere, who still regard with misgiving the intrusion and trespassing of politics upon the field we have to cultivate — intrusion and trespassing which are all the more dangerous because

they are often concealed. There are many of us who still look askance at administrative machinery. There are many who still have fears of intellectual centralisation aiming at the creation of a kind of monopoly, for the advantage of politics but to the detriment of our work.

For us, the League of Nations is neither a super-State nor a super-Church; it is not a philosophy or a system of metaphysics; it does not rest upon sacrosanct dogma; it is not even the sole method of international collaboration. Intellectual co-operation is in fact a method. But this method must never be hindered in its application by politics, even, and especially, if those politics are working for the same end. It is here that we must distinguish in order to unite. If the League of Nations wants to gain in "efficiency" as the English say, it must first gain in suppleness and in size, and one must be able to feel at ease within its framework.

In what I have said, I have already defined the second characteristic of intellectual co-operation: its purely intellectual character. While we must have a much more independent idea of intellectual co-operation, we must also have a much higher idea of it.

Above all, we must have an historical idea of it. The existence of intellectual co-operation is much older than that of the League of Nations: I would even say that it has always existed. There have been times in history when intellectual co-operation, even in the midst of most difficult crises, in the midst of troubles and wars, has had a general and fruitful activity, has called forth a large response and has found a framework far more vast than that which we have so much difficulty in creating to-day. Intellectual co-operation represents a long tradition. The scholasticism of the Middle Ages, the humanism of the Renaissance, the philosophy of the eighteenth century, the romanticism of the nineteenth, appear to us in perspective as so many forms of intellectual co-operation. They are international, European forms, with their means of expression, their instruments of work, their seats of culture, their systems of liaison and exchange, with an independence of action and development which neither politics nor even war have ever succeeded in bridling or slowing down.

Here, indeed, is encouragement for us. Here, too, is proof that intellectual co-operation has really the right to exist when the world is overturned, divided and off its course.

I think of the period when the "successor States", the barbarian kingdoms established themselves upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, when civilisation had fallen so low that many thought the end of the world was near. It was everywhere necessary to begin again from nothing and even less than nothing, while spiritual life lacked both men and means. Yet there were some men who took upon themselves the task of saving all that could be saved of the old civilisation, to preserve and reconstruct in their minds the idea of the Roman Empire, European unity — men who dared to go even among the barbarians and tried to understand and serve them.

I think of another period of weakness and anarchy which followed the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, and which shows us the same effort of a small minority. From these two efforts, one continuing and recommencing the other, arose the great Middle Ages, the youth of the modern world, the centuries when Europe knew unity and universality, as far as they could be known.

But I notice, too, how modestly and with what self-denial men worked in these difficult times. They tried above all to serve and to educate. They had an entirely practical view of intellectual life. They never thought of separating this life from ordinary social life with its humble affairs and hard necessities, nor from religious life with its spiritual aspirations, its search for a higher morality. It is doing a good service to the spiritual life to ask what practical help we can bring it to-day. By facilitating intellectual work, we attract every day more intellectual men to the League of Nations, whereas a great number of them are inclined to distrust and resist us if we try to convert them to our ideas.

The original idea of intellectual co-operation was not to place intellectuals at the service of the League of Nations, but the reverse. For proof of this it is sufficient to re-read the texts which gave birth to the organisation of to-day. That is why I am convinced we must return to this first principle. As a matter of fact, circumstances carry us there forcibly. To be useful is the humble but essential condition that must be accepted if we want intellectual co-operation to succeed in playing its part in the contemporary world.

But there is another, a third, characteristic without which intellectual co-operation will never achieve its aim of universality. Intellectual co-operation is within the framework of the League of Nations, but within the ideal framework, that in which the real framework is inserted. The list of States Members is too narrow a limit to prevent us from trying continually to pass beyond it. Such was indeed the intention of our founders, such was, and remains, the wish of the Council.

This is very wise. Our task is to precede the League of Nations along the road of universality. From the beginning the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has remained open to representatives of States which were no longer members of the League of Nations. It was an indication of a direction in which we can resolutely commit ourselves to proceed. Politics cannot therefore constitute an obstacle to joining or returning to intellectual co-operation. But it is not sufficient to say so, we must also act in such a manner that a State really can join or return.

That is the first aspect of universality. There is a second which it is enough to indicate — namely, that all cultural forms and all the main branches of intellectual life should be united under the same title.

Finally, there is a third, the "association of minds" aspect. The crisis which the intellectual world is going through at this moment shows us that the old association of minds has ceased to exist and that the new one does not yet exist. Our task is to work patiently to shape it. We are much further from an association of minds than before the war, when the tolerance and urbanity of an old civilisation gave the most diverse and even the most opposite ideas the right and the opportunity to declare themselves without fear of disapproval, exclusion or anathema. Let us

remain the last place where such confrontations of ideas are possible. Let us therefore maintain at our meetings and in our conversations a perfect equilibrium between the powerful currents which traverse our age ; let us always make room for every movement of ideas. Thus we shall prepare the future of intelligence and serve the cause of peace.

Finally we come to the last characteristic, which I shall call, on the Swiss model, federalism. By that, I mean that intellectual co-operation must tend to decentralise. It must be everywhere in the world where the life of the mind shows itself, where there are workers and where there are seekers. The more intellectual co-operation shows itself capable of decentralisation, the more the contacts and the means by which it can progress will be multiplied. Only then it will exert an influence. Federalism is universality put into practice, concrete universality. That is why I hope that the number of our specialised institutes will still further increase. But I count above all on the national committees to render the federalism of intellectual co-operation effective. Just as peace cannot be the monopoly of a single institution, so intellectual co-operation cannot be the preserve of a single committee or a single institute even if they are international. What is essential is not the administrative stamp or the headed letter-paper ; it is the mind. But the mind passes where it will.

It is doubtless because I am, with our dear President, Professor Gilbert Murray, the oldest member of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, that I have been asked to make this report. It is deference, then, to age, but perhaps also to experience. I have seen intellectual co-operation born, I have followed all its steps since the first minute of the first hour of the first day. I know its past, but I cannot predict its future. Its present organisation is doubtless only a stage. What will happen to it later ? It is possible that in the future historians will see intellectual co-operation as the basis of a new civilisation. It is also possible that this attempt will be recorded as a failure and that it will be forgotten because of its insignificance. Who can say now what part of all we have undertaken will be fruitful or sterile ? But we are not responsible for the results : we are responsible only for making the attempt. Let us make it.

5. EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SECOND GENERAL CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

(Held at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris.)

FIRST MEETING.

Monday, July 5th, 1937, at 10.30 a.m.

The Conference was opened by M. Yvon Delbos, Minister for Foreign Affairs of France.

Opening speech by Professor Gilbert Murray, President.

Professor Gilbert MURRAY spoke as follows :

Monsieur le Ministre, Ladies and Gentlemen. — I am deeply sensible of the honour which falls to my lot as Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, of presiding on this important occasion and of opening the second General Conference of National Committees of Intellectual Co-operation. The meeting of this Conference is something for which we have long waited ; but we might perhaps have had to wait longer still had it not been for the French Government's courtesy in inviting the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to hold a series of meetings in Paris in connection with the " Exposition internationale des Arts et de la Technique".

I am sure that I speak for all of you, in making it my first duty to say how much we have welcomed the French Government's proposal, and to express towards His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs the gratitude which we all feel. His presence among us is a further proof of the sympathetic interest taken by the Government of the French Republic in the work of Intellectual Co-operation. I am therefore happy, Monsieur le Ministre, to assure you of our deep satisfaction at being assembled here in Paris. Paris has long been one of the centres of Intellectual Co-operation — I might even say, long before Intellectual Co-operation was officially organised under the auspices of the League. Paris is one of those capitals of the mind, which has always offered its hospitality to intellectual effort in all its forms.

Hence the warm pleasure with which the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation welcomed the offer of the French Government to place at its disposal the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which has developed into such a valuable instrument of work, and in whose premises we are now meeting. It is thanks to the Institute, and thanks therefore to the generosity of the Government which gave it to the International Committee, that Intellectual Co-operation has become what it is in such a short space of time; that it has been able systematically to extend its effective sphere of action and to become one of the most active and most promising of the League's technical organisations. To my mind, our present meeting affords a striking proof of the valuable results of what the French Government has done in this matter.

Forty-five national committees have been constituted during the last few years and thirty-seven are represented to-day at this Conference. While thanking the French Government and the organisers of the Exhibition for having done so much to enable the Conference to take place, may I therefore at the same time say how grateful we are to the national committees for their response to our appeal ? International action, in whatever sphere, can neither develop nor fulfil its mission of serving the community of nations unless it derives strength and vigour from roots reaching far down into the inner life of each country. It is the constant stimulus received from these national forces, however divergent or even contradictory they may often be, which gives to any international effort its significance and its practical effectiveness.

This Conference, however, must not merely mark the end of the phase that lies behind us. It must not confine itself to taking note of what has already been done. It must also constitute a new point of departure, and, such being the case, I venture, on behalf of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, to urge it to be ambitious in its aims, generous in its proposals and full of confidence in the future. For my own part, I have never lost that confidence since the very beginning of my association with the work of the League of Nations.

After one of the earliest Assemblies of the League of Nations, as I returned to England with a fellow-delegate, the same thought occurred to both of us. We had felt strongly the eager goodwill, the intelligence and the desire to co-operate that existed among our fellow-delegates from different parts of the world. Then we returned and found people — naturally enough — all occupied in their own affairs and most of them quite unconscious that there had been any meeting of the Assembly or indeed that there was such a thing as a League of Nations at all. And we thought: "If only these millions of people could have been at Geneva and taken part in the work and felt the touch of the new international spirit!"

Is there any way of achieving or even approaching some such result? Obviously, whole nations cannot be made to meet one another. At present it is not the nations that meet at Geneva. It is their governmental representatives, their lawyers, as it were, their men of business. Now a meeting between lawyers may be extremely useful; it may settle disputes, arrive at compromises, avoid rash commitments; but it is not particularly calculated to produce feelings of friendship or intimacy between the principals. Is there any other way?

It was some thought of this kind that moved Henri Bergson, our illustrious first president, to approach Léon Bourgeois and Lord Balfour with suggestions for forming this organisation of which you and I are members. The co-operation of governmental representatives was already assured by the League; could we not build, outside the co-operation of statesmen, civil servants, experts and technicians, a co-operation of unofficial thinkers, writers, artists, men of learning, a free co-operation in the things of the intellect, an "association of minds" as M. Paul Valéry has called it? The name "Intellectual Co-operation" is not altogether happy. It might seem to imply that the statesmen and officials attending the League have no intellect, or do not use them when present at Geneva. I need hardly say that it does not. It only implies that their co-operation, however high-minded or thoughtful or ingenious it may be, is concerned with practical, material things: and largely with the direct interests of their respective Governments. Ours is not.

It has been said: "If I may make a nation's songs, I care little who makes its laws." The judgment suits a simpler civilisation than ours, but *mutatis mutandis* it remains true. It is the thinkers, writers, artists, the historians and men of science, who do what is now equivalent to making the nation's songs. It is they who shape the unconscious background of a people's thought turn the focus of their attention this way or that. It is they who, if they do this duty, protect nations against these besetting temptations of ignorance and prejudice which Ruskin has called "masked words" and Norman Angell "unseen assassins".

We sometimes fail to see that these intellectuals do much to help the common people; but we see in a moment the infinite harm they can do when they are corrupted or terrorised into the betrayal of their high calling. We hope through the meetings of our various committees and conferences and "Conversations", in which intellectuals of different nations meet, not to argue about politics, but to work together in the subjects which specially interest them, to build up a slow but ever increasing spirit of friendliness among those who influence the minds of their contemporaries. The work is going forward.

We have now no poet in England comparable to Tennyson; but I doubt if any contemporary English poet would speak casually of the "red fool-fury of the Seine" without apparently noticing that he was saying something outrageously offensive.

I do not know if in France there are many historians as brilliant as Michelet, but I doubt if they would be quite content with his description of England, which I quote, perhaps inaccurately, from memory: "The fat cattle for ever feeding on the fat pastures, and the fat men for ever feeding on the fat cattle."

No harm is meant, but such phrases stick in the mind of thousands, and form a sort of *fabule convenue*.

First, then, we hope by the meetings of the writers, thinkers and artists, to spread more widely the spirit of friendship and co-operation between nations. Can we also make it deeper, more intelligent? Surely we can. "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue!" said Edmond Burke after a long political life. Is it not at least a reflection forced upon us, a reflection borne in upon thoughtful men after every war, every persecution, every fierce party controversy? "What shadows, what dimly seen and unsubstantial shadows, are enough to make men hate and destroy one another."

As historians, when we look back on the long tale of wars and persecutions which constitute so much of the history of Europe, and reflect that this is not a backward and savage corner of the world, but the most civilised, most artistic, most enlightened of continents, when we think of the ruinous conflicts which have produced for the most part no permanent result whatever except the misery of inoffending human beings, are we not compelled to feel that if this is the best that human life can offer, then the only comment is that of the Preacher: "*Vanitas vanitatum, omnia vanitas*"?

As philosophers, when we look back on the vain and furious hatreds with which the adherents of different religious sects and political parties have regarded one another, and see at the same time how inadequate are all the labels by which men describe themselves, how improbable it is that any one set of men possesses the whole of truth, how certain it is that no one set possesses all the virtues and another nothing but the vices, can we avoid feeling our traditional prejudices and animosities swept away by one vast flood of pity for this much-suffering race of man which shows

itself at different times so vile, so noble, so mean and so generous, but for ever aspiring after unattainable ends, for ever self-deluding and self-crucified? In this little life, which is all we have on earth, is it not madness that we should devote so much effort to injuring one another, instead of uniting in the service of the common end described by Aristotle, of building a good life for man?

That is the spirit of co-operation wherever it is found. It is needed between creeds, between classes, between individuals but most of all between nations, because it is between nations that strife is most extreme and most ruinous. The material in which we in this Committee have to co-operate is the maintenance and further promotion of our common intellectual heritage. Other organs of the League are concerned with other sides of our culture. Our business is to foster the intellectual side, to practise co-operation in the advance of physical and social science, of art and poetry and humane studies.

Studies like my own have perhaps the humbler but not less necessary task of keeping alive the highest spirit of that civilisation which, among many failings, we inherit from the Græco-Roman world: the pursuit of beauty, which we learn from the artists and poets, the pursuit of truth, which we learn from the scientists and philosophers, the pursuit of some combination of law and freedom in a righteous community, which forms the great unfading centre of the ethical tradition of Greece.

There is a terrible passage in the writings of one of the grimmest of American Puritans, Jonathan Edwards, in which he compares mankind to some noxious insect which God holds for a moment over the flames of Hell to see if there is any gleam of repentance in it, any reason why so foul a thing should not be dropped straight into the fire. It sometimes seems to me as if our civilisation, our great and splendid European civilisation, were much in that position, hanging suspended over flames which are there waiting, certain to destroy it unless . . . unless it can effectively repent of its one fatal vice. War is the organised doing of evil to our fellow men, evil to the furthest extreme and on the vastest scale. If great European Governments still imagine that that evil is good, or that, whether good or evil, for some phantom of national glory, some party advantage or some illusion of economic gain, they mean to use it as soon as they can hope for success, it is hard to see how Europe or European culture can survive. In this Organisation, such perversions have no place. Our business is to co-operate in the things of the spirit with all who will accept our co-operation. We work together for truth, for beauty, for human brotherhood; and we recognise no enemies.

M. PILOTTI, Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations, spoke as follows on behalf of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations:

It has fallen to me to address you in place of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who has not been able to come here as he would have wished to welcome in person the national committees on intellectual co-operation, which are met here for the second time in a general Conference.

On his behalf, I have also the honour to express our thanks to the French Government for having very kindly given facilities for this meeting in a city which is one of the centres of the intellectual life of the world, and on the occasion of an event of world-wide import — namely, the "Exposition des arts et techniques dans la vie moderne".

I am particularly happy to fulfil this two-fold duty, because I have been personally connected with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation for many years, and I know how my venerated and late lamented master Alfredo Rocco, who devoted his life to the Italian National Committee, made himself the apostle of the idea that the national committees should hold periodical meetings.

M. DELBOS (Minister for Foreign Affairs of France):

Those who have had the privilege, which is mine to-day, of opening international assemblies have often drawn attention to the very happy impression given by these meetings, at which almost all the nations of the world come together. But rarely do such gatherings give expression as fully as your Conference to the very soul and national genius of the peoples represented. In welcoming you on behalf of the Government of the Republic, I know that that welcome is given to every continent and every different civilisation, in its richest and most varied forms; I know that you have been chosen in your respective countries by the representatives of every sphere of thought; I know that there is no single branch of study — followed by the boundless creative faculty of the human mind — which has not its spokesman here, which has not some of its most distinguished masters in this hall.

Each of your delegations stands for that most treasured possession of a nation, its intellectual structure; and the body of delegations heralds the time, which I hope will come soon, when the international community following your example, will at last become a reality.

This strength and unity of intellectual life which, in our time, dominates and penetrates life in general, is not merely a pledge of progress; it reassures those who sometimes fear that western civilisation may, like past civilisations, go down in ruin. There are so many to-day who share the benefits we derive from science, letters and arts, that such relapse, despite all the alarm aroused by warlike outbursts and the monstrous growth in the power of means of destruction, seems unthinkable.

But there is a very definite and urgent service which those who devote themselves to research, to the study of facts and to intellectual progress can render us. If we discard the possibility that civilisation may perish amid chaos, there are still many disturbances which menace the world, and the organising capacity of the human mind does not seem to equal its inventive power or its faculty for scientific and technical progress.

As the representative of a Government which is pre-eminently attached to peace among all peoples and for all mankind, I desire to voice our confidence in the work of intellectual co-operation with which you are all associated. In the great effort to establish harmony for which the League of Nations stands, it is for you to pave the way for the reconciliations that are desired by all, for mutual understanding, for the *rapprochement* of thinkers through agreement on the principles that should form the basis of international life, through the formation of a habit of work done in common and untrammelled by frontiers. I know what constant progress is being made in your work and the encouragement it receives from all parts of the world. "The League of Nations cannot hope to exist without the spirit of reciprocal intellectual activity between its members", so said Léon Bourgeois, when he asked at Geneva that a Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should be set up. It was to hasten these deep and essential friendships that the French Government offered the League this Institute of Intellectual Co-operation at which you are meeting to-day, and which is wholly at your service to maintain permanent collaboration among you. Set up on the initiative of Henri Bergson, it has since had as its Presidents two men whose names I may utter with pride — names that are symbolic of France's respect for intellectual values, since she has often placed her destinies in their hands — I refer to the late lamented Paul Painlevé and M. Édouard Herriot.

But, after recalling this national initiative, I cannot but give the credit for this collective action to the committees on intellectual co-operation. None appreciates better than your distinguished President, Professor Gilbert Murray, the value of this international movement which enlists in its cause all the intellectual resources of every country. I shall not recount in detail the work you have inspired ; but I know you are making the greatest experiment in international education that has ever been attempted. Doubtless most of the political difficulties of to-day come from the fact that the international problem of the education, the training of man, has not yet been solved. You have overlooked none of its aspects, neither school nor university, nor the constant and reasoned enlightenment of public opinion by those who patiently study realities, and who ought to be its guides. You thus remain faithful, despite circumstances perhaps more difficult than ever before, to the great traditions of history ; for it has always been the thinkers rather than those officials directing affairs who have prepared the way for the times to come.

Intellectual speculation, science, letters, arts — all these are fields in which national antagonism loses its intensity in which the unity of a free discipline can best assert itself ; and we may hope that the contact thus established will daily grow closer, and will lead to a real and solid friendship among the *élite* of the intellectual world. These will set an example to the masses ; and so, by a kind of endosmosis, there will be brought about that inter-communication of intellects from which an international mentality will emerge. Thus the liaison between the *élite* will do much to solve the problem of bringing peoples together and enabling them to collaborate.

None can render such effective help to moral disarmament as you, by providing nations with mental hygiene, with prophylaxis against outbreaks of war-fever. Your influence may be decisive ; for the currents which in appearance are the most spontaneous flow down slopes prepared by national evolution. The course of great events is always determined by the ideology that precedes them, and it is therefore upon that ideology that action should be brought to bear. It is hopeless to try to stem the course of a river when it is already flowing in its valley ; but by changing the lie of the land at its source, by working near to the springs from which it comes, new channels may be made and brought together so as to change the course of the people's aspirations and the direction of their energies. Such springs are the places whence thinkers, savants and artists draw new values. At the origin of movements of ideas which themselves bring about movements of peoples will be found the individual and creative intellectual activity. And so, gentlemen, the future is in your hands.

No one indeed disputes this truth ; and those who stand farthest from your ideal themselves pay a tribute to you. Yet there is here a contradiction which cannot continue. The time will come when solidarity of the human race will be proclaimed in its pursuit of the most exalted subjects of knowledge, and by that very fact such solidarity will be accepted in every field. It is your action that will hasten the advent of that moment.

If the cause of international organisation is to triumph, if the obligations of law are to govern international relations, it will be because, thanks mainly to you, conditions will have been created in which rules and covenants may have their own life and work out their own consequences. France has no dearer hope than that, and you can count upon her fullest help. I wish your Congress the complete success it deserves, and from the depths of my heart I express the hope that intellectual co-operation, supported by the devotion it has engendered in your various countries, and guided by your counsels and your work, will prepare the way for the triumph of reason throughout the world.

In conclusion, M. Yvon Delbos apologised to the Conference for the absence of M. Edmond Labbé, Commissioner General of the Exhibition, who had been unable to attend the opening meeting, and invited Professor Gilbert Murray to take the presidential chair.

Procedure of the Conference.

Appointment of Vice-Presidents.

The PRESIDENT proposed the names of the following five members of the Conference for appointment as Vice-Presidents :

M. COSTA DU RELS (Bolivia),
Mr. SHOTWELL (United States of America),
M. TAHA-HUSSEIN (Egypt),
M. BRAUNSHAUSEN (Luxemburg),
M. VAKIL (Iran).

Constitution of the Bureau of the Conference.

The PRESIDENT proposed that the Bureau should consist of the President, the five Vice-Presidents, the five general rapporteurs — namely :

M. Henri FOCILLON (France),
M. Balbino GIULIANO (Italy),
M. HUIZINGA (Netherlands),
M. MUNCH (Denmark),
M. DE REYNOLD (Switzerland),

and the eight assistant rapporteurs — namely :

M. Miguel OZORIO DE ALMEIDA (Brazil),
M. Gregorio ARAOZ ALFARO (Argentina),
M. Saburo YAMADA (Japan),
M. ROEMERIS (Lithuania),
M. G. TZITZEICA (Roumania),
Sir Robert GARRAN (Australia),
M. Karol LUTOSTANSKI (Poland),
M. Li Yu Ying (China).

The President's proposals were adopted.

Rules of Procedure.

Adopted.

Agenda.

Adopted (see page 12).

Activity of the International Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation from 1931 to 1937.

M. Henri FOCILLON (France), general rapporteur, read his report (see page 13).

The PRESIDENT said that he would open the discussion of this report at the afternoon meeting.

SECOND MEETING.

Monday, July 5th, 1937, at 3.30 p.m.

Examination of the Report on the Activity of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, 1931-1937
(see page 17).

M. DE REYNOLD (Switzerland) thought that the discussion of M. Focillon's report on the activity of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation from 1931 to 1937 had considerable importance for the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, for it was absolutely necessary that the latter should know what the national committees thought of it and of its work. Praise was an encouragement ; but criticism would be even more useful.

The national committees were the bases of the International Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation. It was for them now to say what they thought of the work which had been done during the last seven years, and more particularly in the last year.

Sir Frank HEATH (United Kingdom) considered that M. Focillon's report was very striking, and a real revelation in regard to what had taken place in the work of intellectual co-operation as a whole ; but it was rather in the nature of a document for experts. It was a question what effect it would have, if they succeeded in getting it published. A large part of it would probably not be readily understood by the greater part of the public, the reason being that the intellectual co-operation movement was not yet a sufficiently live reality in the eyes of the great mass of the population.

.....
He therefore thought the Conference should endeavour to make practical suggestions as to the best means of bringing before the peoples as a whole the work and ideas of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee, of which the national committees were, so to say, the appendages.
The cause of international co-operation was faced with an infinite number of obstacles quite apart from those of a financial character. Certain countries, for instance, had the very greatest

difficulties in obtaining books from other countries. Certain countries treated authors' rights with contempt and published all works without any compensatory payment. Others — he was sorry to say his own country was one — only allowed the communication to the public of the work of authors who belonged to an organisation of their own. Others again excluded cultural films on pretexts of quotas. Still others forgot from day to day their engagement not to broadcast anything which might be harmful to the cause of peace.

He proposed accordingly the immediate preparation of a list of obstacles to the free development of international intellectual co-operation. Such a list would have, he was convinced, a very great moral effect. He further proposed the appointment of a Sub-Committee, including legal experts, to observe the manner in which the Conventions for the promotion of intellectual co-operation were put into practice in the different countries, to note the attitude of each country in regard to these Conventions, and to report periodically to the Institute on all cases noted of infringements of the same. Whether it was decided to publish the said list or not, there was no question that it would be of very considerable use in any case.¹

M. GALLIÉ (France) thanked the members of the Conference for their very general response to the appeal of the League of Nations.

He rapidly reviewed the action taken and the questions studied by the French National Committee.

Without desiring in any way to criticise men who were devoting their whole lives to the ideal of international intellectual co-operation, he agreed with Sir Frank Heath that it was high time to enquire why it was that the lofty ideals proclaimed with so much enthusiasm in 1922 had not yielded all the results expected, in spite of the very considerable efforts recorded in M. Focillon's report.

It was a fact that mis-statements — and very considerable mis-statements at that — were common in school text-books. But there were much more deeprooted and much more serious mis-statements, of the prevalence of which they were often made brutally aware.

The French National Committee had been the recipient of representations by certain countries such as the Netherlands, Italy and Spain, in respect of particular passages in French school books, and it had been successful in inducing the publishers and authors to revise the passages in question.

How had the French National Committee managed to achieve these results? The answer was that it had been able to do so because it combined several characteristics, being a popular and at the same time, to a certain extent, a governmental though unofficial body. Educational authorities, representatives of authors' and journalists' associations and the like were all to be found in its ranks. It might be said to have brought together all the intellectual forces of the country. Consequently, when it came to approach the publishers, the latter had the impression that they were faced with a demand emanating from a powerful social organisation. That led him to suggest that every delegate there present should think of his own national committee, and ask himself whether the latter effectively brought together all the representatives of the intellectual activities of his country, and whether its strength was all that he could desire.

The references in M. Focillon's report to the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in connection with museums and libraries, as also to the "Conversations" between distinguished personages, left it tolerably clear that one aspect had been to a certain extent neglected.

People in France sometimes got the impression that intellectual co-operation had a little too much of the schoolmaster touch about it. They felt that it looked too exclusively to university circles. He wondered whether there was not a danger of giving intellectual co-operation so stern an aspect as to repel the ordinary public. Their message was addressed, in his opinion, not only to those who instructed the masses, but to the masses themselves. He would like to see intellectual co-operation make some attempt to establish contact with the groups and syndicates of intellectual workers. The need to reach great masses of the population who still knew nothing of intellectual co-operation, seemed to him essential.

The question of the resources at the disposal of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should also be considered. It was desirable to emphasise this as the present resources were inadequate for present-day needs. It was not sufficient to have the idea; means must be given to realise it.

When the Organisation was founded, it was the general expectation that the forty-five countries taking part in the movement would make a contribution towards the expenditure of the Institute proportionate to that of France. It was absolutely necessary that the national committees should make some response in this matter and concert with their respective Governments the ways and means of contributing in future to an international budget, without which the work of the Organisation was cramped and hampered from the very outset.

The Organisation had need of all, and of the collaboration of all, if it was to be truly and comprehensively international. The genius of any people was to be found in its *élite*; but the *élite* were not often well known to the people whose synthetical expression they were. He was very much afraid that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was in danger — from the very

¹ For provisional list of obstacles, see Annex, page 91.

fact of the exalted character of its ideals, the splendour of its language, and the high quality of the men of whom it was composed — of becoming alienated from the masses, without whom it could not exist.

Mr. SHOTWELL (United States of America) desired to pay his tribute to the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation as described by M. Focillon. The work to which the Organisation had set its hand was difficult work. For the first time in history they were making an attempt to bridge the gulfs between peoples ; and, in so doing, they were acting in the spirit of the League of Nations and according to its ideals.

He thought the time had come to draw up a practical programme of action for future years. He supported Sir Frank Heath's suggestion of a list of the obstacles in their path as a means of enabling the Conference to arrive at conclusions which would be useful in the future. He would add another proposal to Sir Frank Heath's — namely, that the Committee which it was proposed to appoint should add to the list of difficulties such suggestions as might occur to it as to the manner in which the difficulties should be overcome. His own experience inclined him to think that the solution should vary according to the circumstances. It would be a mistake to suppose that a single international organisation could ever be in a position to solve all difficulties in the same way. It would be necessary to go slowly, and prepare the ground methodically. There should be some arrangement for the maintenance of relations and exchanges of information between countries. Persons who were studying a problem in one country were often ignorant of parallel studies and methods of handling the same problem in other countries.

In all cases, expert advice must be sought, if their labours were to escape the reproach of being "amateurish". National Committees should try to develop on these lines and look for collaboration, not merely to circles with a general interest in the international co-operation movement but also to specialists in each particular subject — science, letters, art. The collaboration of these last was essential, if national committees were to become really representative of the intellectual life of their several countries. Duplication of work with other bodies would thus be avoided. In this connection, it was most desirable not to leave out of account organisations which in the past had already done work in the nature of international collaboration in their own field. There was, for example, an International Academic Union ; and there were various international organisations of historians. The maintenance of contact with such organisations would serve to prevent unnecessary parallelisms in the same sphere.

One of the inherent difficulties of the intellectual co-operation movement was the development, since the early days of the movement, of new means of acquiring knowledge and of establishing relations. Wireless telegraphy and the cinema used an international language, which was just as capable of diffusing ideas of mutual understanding as ideas of prejudice. The problem again of libraries and public record offices had undergone a complete transformation. The difficulty was not so much the problem of what documents to preserve as to what documents to destroy.

He did not agree with M. Gallié's objection to the conception of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation as a kind of world university. He even wondered whether enough attention was paid to this particular aspect of the intellectual co-operation movement, whether the universities, particularly those of his own country, were in sufficiently close relations with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and whether the close liaison which existed between Geneva and Paris had any counterpart in university circles.

M. MARQUEZ (Spain) paid a tribute to the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, as described by M. Focillon in his report, and in particular its work in connection with the exact sciences and natural science. He wondered if the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and particularly the Institute could not do even more than it did in the way of scientific co-ordination. It might, for instance, make suggestions, and possibly give technical assistance, in the case of meetings of scientific bodies likely to produce practical results.

.....

Dame Edith LYTTETON (United Kingdom) suggested broadcast talks to the masses, urban and rural, in vivid and arresting terms on the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the purpose which it pursued. That would bring home to those classes of the population the wide extension of the activities of the League, and to that extent would strengthen the League's influence.

M. FOCILLON (General Rapporteur) said that the discussion had raised a number of issues, which merited attention. In reply to criticisms, it was only fair to point out that the report they were discussing was not intended for other than expert eyes ; he had not anticipated its being printed. He had endeavoured merely to inform the Conference of the work done during the last seven years, and to take stock of the results, without concerning himself with the possibility of publication in the Press.

One important question raised by several speakers was the problem of how to reach the masses. He fully appreciated the importance of the problem, though personally he thought the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation could do better work by remaining, so to say, in the background as much as was compatible with its task of raising the level of instruction of the masses. The measure of the Organisation's success was the measure of the extent to which it was able to accomplish that task.

The same considerations applied to libraries. Libraries were not designed solely for the chosen few. They were intended for the benefit of all. But the compilation of a fine catalogue was for the benefit of the masses, though the latter are generally unaware of its existence.

The solitary research student was also doing work which was for the benefit of the masses. He was not sure it was not the truest form of deference both to science and to the masses not directly to solicit the suffrages of the latter. The thinker, whatever the direction of his thought, was never separated from, or alien to, the masses.

As to the influence of university standards in the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, he thought M. Galli's portrait of the university man was somewhat too clear-cut. The workers in the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation are far from being all university graduates. The responsible leaders of the intellectual co-operation movement appealed to all whose intellectual capacity was such as to assist the objects of the movement. Professors were not necessarily gloomy beings armed always with a rod of iron, to be banished from the republic of letters. Many artists are to be found in the ranks of the professors : many are indefatigable in keeping themselves in close touch with the realities of life.

The problem of contact with a larger range of public opinion, the problem of reaching wider circles of the population and the means of soliciting their advice, and all questions as to the best technical means of doing so were problems, in his view, which concerned the national committees.

All the criticisms which had found expression in the course of their discussions served once more to point the moral of the interdependence of all, and to the needful co-operation between the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the national committees.

The PRESIDENT declared the general discussion on the Report on the Activities of the International Intellectual Co-operation Organisation 1931-1937 closed.

Sir Frank HEATH submitted the following resolution in the name of the British National Committee :

" The Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, whilst approving M. Focillon's report and recognising the good work accomplished by the International Committee and the Institute since 1931 :

" Feels that the attention of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should be directed to the numerous obstacles which at present impede free intellectual co-operation between the peoples ;

" Proposes that a Sub-Committee of seven persons, including three jurists, should be appointed with instructions to draw up as complete a list as possible of these obstacles, and to report to the Conference not later than Thursday, July 8th."

Constitution of a Joint Committee.

The Conference decided to appoint a Joint Committee of nine members, including three jurists, to give effect to Sir Frank Heath's proposal : the Committee to consist of M. Pilotti, Mr. Shotwell, M. Simonius, M. Yamada, Count Degenfeld-Schönburg, Sir Frank Heath, M. Opreanu, M. Ozorio de Almeida and M. Harri Holma.

THIRD MEETING.

Tuesday, July 6th, 1937, at 10 a.m.

Organisation and Activities of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation.

M. Balbino GIULIANO (Italy), General Rapporteur, summarises his report (see page 17).

Mr. LELAND (United States of America) said he proposed to discuss four points—namely:

- (1) The composition of national committees ;
- (2) Their relations with their respective Governments ;
- (3) Their relations with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation ;
- (4) Their relations with one another.

All four points raised problems, the solution of which was indispensable if the national committees were to work satisfactorily.

Point 1.

There were two different views as to the composition of national committees :

(a) One school thought they should be composed of well-known and distinguished persons, whose mere presence lent lustre to the work of the Committees. That was the view adopted at the outset in the United States of America : but Committees of this kind were not found to be very effective.

(b) The other view, on which the United States was now acting, was also gaining ground elsewhere. This school advocated national committees composed not merely of distinguished

persons, but also of individuals in close contact with intellectual circles in the country. Such individuals, without necessarily having an official character, were well qualified to represent science, art and letters, the teaching faculties, libraries, museums, the Press, the wireless and the cinema. The experience of the United States was that a national committee thus composed worked very well.

Point 2.

Since the United States of America was not a member of the League of Nations, the American National Committee was of necessity an independent body. It had no official relations with the United States Government : but it included certain officials whose membership facilitated contacts and afforded access to departmental resources. Relations on a semi-official, rather than an official, basis with the Administration were useful as making for greater independence and stability.

Point 3.

It was absolutely necessary for all national committees to be in constant communication with the central Organisation. There was a good deal that might be said on the subject of the lengthy questionnaires they were called upon to answer and the difficulties they had in answering them ! But the solution was to be found in the establishment of effective means of communication between the national committees and the central Organisation. The relative advantages of a permanent or a voluntary secretary did not matter. What mattered was that in each national committee there should be someone responsible for correspondence with the central Organisation. In giving effect to the proposals of the central Organisation, a variety of methods were available. The national committee might take over the work itself, or it might prefer to hand over the work to an agent, retaining responsibility in its own hands and supervising the agent's operations. Again, it was desirable that national committees should submit more frequent proposals to the central Organisation, leaving to the latter the choice between such proposals. The more proposals and suggestions national committees submitted to the central Organisation, the greater the value of the Institute. Lastly, if it was not utopian to make such a proposal at a time when the Institute's financial resources were so exiguous, he thought it would be desirable to have a travelling representative of the central Organisation who could visit the national committees, explain to them the purposes and functions of intellectual co-operation, and develop the relations of national committees with one another and with the centre.

Point 4.

In regard to his fourth point, there was not much more to be said. The various reports all drew attention to the need for closer relations of national committees with one another. Above all, it was essential that every national committee should have exact and up-to-date information in regard to other national committees. A very useful arrangement would be to publish a repertory of national committees, giving the name of the Secretary responsible for correspondence, the names of all the members, and the special branches of their activities. It would also be a good thing to publish each year in the *Bulletin* a summary of the annual reports of all national committees.

Mme. PATZELT (Austria) observed that M. Balbino Giuliano's general report expressed the opinion that " national committees should be (1) liaison organs between the intellectual life of their respective nations and the International Committee, and (2) autonomous organs, and at the same time organs for the co-ordination of the intellectual life of their respective nations ". She could only say that, in the twelve years during which she had been Secretary of the Austrian National Committee, she had frequently had great difficulty in realising this dual conception. She thought the International Committee and the Institute ought regularly to send out communications dealing with the activities of the various committees and sub-committees of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. To take only one example, she sometimes learned after several months, either by chance or by reading the *Intellectual Co-operation Year-Book*, that this or that Austrian national had been appointed to this or that committee or sub-committee. Such persons serving on committees or sub-committees of the Organisation ought to be members of their national committee, their membership of which could not do otherwise than lend weight to their individual activities. Geneva and Paris complained of the difficulty in getting an answer from national committees. It might help matters if steps were taken to improve conditions in the way she had suggested.

M. Balbino Giuliano also said : " In general, I should like to see our national committees more and more play the part of advisory organs of our Governments for questions of intellectual co-operation ". But it was often impossible for national committees to support the action of Geneva and Paris as they might wish to do, owing to the absence of the necessary information on the subject. To take another example, the League of Nations was preparing a new Convention on the protection of monuments in time of war. The text of this Convention was sent to Governments. It was not sent to the national committees. It was by pure chance that the Austrian National Committee learnt of its existence. When it did, it took steps to have the text considered by its own experts. Governments tended to approach such proposals from the political angle rather than from the standpoint of international intellectual co-operation. It was eminently desirable that, in future, any text of a convention prepared by the League — and, in general, any suggestion having any connection with problems of intellectual co-operation — should be communicated to the national committees as well as to other bodies.

FOURTH MEETING.

Tuesday, July 6th, 1937, at 3.30 p.m.

Organisation of the Activities of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation (continuation).

Inter-American Intellectual Co-operation, its Origins, Development and Organisation.

M. OZORIO DE ALMEIDA (Brazil) summarised his report (see page 21).

Intellectual Co-operation between America and Europe.

In the absence of M. Teran, Chairman of the Argentine National Committee, M. ARAOZ ALFARO (Argentine) completed the brief statement submitted by the Argentine Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (see page 27).

He said that, until recently, the possibility of collaboration on the part of the countries of South America had presumably not bulked very largely in the expectations of intellectual workers in Europe. But the attitude of the latter had been somewhat modified of late, as a result no doubt, in the first instance, of recent scientific work in South-American countries, which had attracted the attention of savants and thinkers in Europe.

However powerful the influence of "Americanism" — i.e., of local patriotism — in the work of South-American writers, the South-American countries had always had their eyes turned towards Europe. Eager as they were to develop their indigenous elements in art and literature, they never failed to proclaim their heritage as the spiritual children of European culture.

The Argentine National Committee was concerned to maintain as close and cordial relations as possible with the intellectual workers of other nations; and it had established sub-committees on literature, history, science, art, etc., to study the best means of promoting exchanges of intellectual workers with other nations, and to publish a bibliographical bulletin of national and foreign works of importance, so as to make the work of foreign thinkers better known in their own country, and conversely to make works produced in the Argentine better known abroad.

This work of intellectual liaison and collaboration between countries in America and countries in Europe had attracted the serious attention of the Argentine Government; and an agreement had just been concluded with a neighbouring country (Brazil) for the revision of school text books, particularly text books of geography and history, in such a manner as to eliminate passages liable to wound national susceptibilities. One of the resolutions of the Inter-American Conference of December 1936 recommended American countries to follow up the study of this problem in accordance with the so-called Casares method and in the light of the work already done in this connection by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

The second International Congress on American History, which was at the moment in session at Buenos Aires, had the question of the revision of the history text books of the American countries on its agenda. It was also proposing to discuss the technique of bibliography and public records. Members of the Conference would gather that the very problems they were themselves at that moment discussing were being dealt with in the other hemisphere by prominent individuals in just the same spirit of broad international collaboration, and with the same eager desire to promote peace and to bring the peoples together.

As the result of a proposal made by the Argentine, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation had decided to produce an Ibero-American ethnographical and historical collection. The Argentine Government proposed to make a contribution of 160,000 francs towards the cost of giving effect to this proposal. Several Argentine books of the first importance had been translated for the Ibero-American Collection published under the auspices of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and two of the most important were already in circulation.

The Argentine National Committee was deeply interested in the great work of progress and peace which was being carried out by the Organisation in Geneva and the Institute in Paris. The Argentine was a country which could claim to have given ample proof of its love of peace. Time and again it had come forward as a champion of arbitration and mutual agreement as a means of settling all disputes and all conflicts. The Argentine National Committee would continue therefore to work ardently for the *rapprochement* of the intellectual *élite* of the world in the conviction that it was on this intellectual *élite* that the task devolved of preparing the way for the communication of great ideas and noble aspirations to the masses. He was sure the great work of intellectual co-operation would grow daily in importance in proportion to the resolution and the enthusiasm which the national committees displayed in its support.

The PRESIDENT proposed to take the two reports on (a) inter-American intellectual co-operation and (b) intellectual co-operation between America and Europe together. Both were therefore open to discussion.

Mr. LELAND (United States of America) said that, in the absence of Mr. Shotwell, it fell to him to state the attitude of the United States delegation in regard to the two reports.

In the first report, M. de Almeida had given a very accurate account of the results of intellectual co-operation in the New World. It might seem strange that these results should be of such recent date, and that the culture of American countries should have developed for so long under conditions of almost complete isolation of one State from another, despite the fact that nearly every American State was in direct communication with Europe.

The explanation of the paradox was to be found in the difficulties of communication between the different countries. It was easier to go from New York to Paris or London than from New York to Buenos Aires ; and there were Americans who preferred to travel via Paris to South America, merely because the communications were better. At the same time, communications had been notably improved, particularly communications by air, while road traffic had also developed with the increasing use of motor transport. On certain frontiers — the Canadian frontier, for instance — relations between neighbouring peoples were very close. The road which was going to link up the two Americas via Mexico would constitute a great Pan-American highway of intellectual co-operation.

One of the first effects of intellectual co-operation between American countries was to develop in the historians of all these countries a passion for research into the national origins and past history of their several peoples.

But, as M. de Almeida had explained, collaboration between American States was still in a preparatory stage. That was why it assumed such various forms. One most effective form of liaison between States in America was the Pan-American Conference. Speaking of conferences, it seemed a pity so many of the countries of America should be represented at the present conference by their diplomatic agents. The explanation was no doubt the distance : but he was sorry America had not sent over more professors, men of letters and savants.

M. de Almeida had already referred to the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Beyond all question, there was an increasing tendency in America towards unity, towards common organisation for mutual support. People wanted to believe in the existence of an American spirit and an American culture. The interest in purely American studies was daily more marked in American universities and colleges. Exchanges of professors and students were more and more numerous. There was no doubt that the movement in favour of purely American studies and collaboration would develop still further. It might be possible later to consider the holding of a conference. But, on all major issues of universal interest, he could assure them that the Inter-American Institute would work in close collaboration with the Institute in Paris and with the International Committee. The Central Council of the American Institute had just been instructed to establish liaison with the latter.

FIFTH MEETING.

Wednesday, July 7th, 1937, at 10 a.m.

Inter-American Intellectual Co-operation (continuation).

M. MARQUEZ (Spain) said he would like to make a few remarks about intellectual relations between Spain and America. In Spain, an attempt had been made to make Hispano-American collaboration a reality in 1901 by founding the review *Records of Hispano-American Ophthalmology*, which had been started by Dr. Menacho, of Barcelona, and Dr. Santos Fernandez, of Havana, and had published a number of scientific treatises on ophthalmology in Spanish. Collaboration in this work had also been given by Professor Demaria, of Buenos Aires, M. Demichieri, of Montevideo, M. Charlin, of Chile, and M. Marquez himself. Later, other reviews, such as the *Ophthalmological Records of Buenos Aires*, the *Cuban Review of Ophthalmology*, and the *Otoneuro-Ophthalmological Review of Buenos Aires*, had been published ; and Dr. Menacho and the speaker himself had founded the Hispano-American Ophthalmological Society, which organised conferences at intervals of two years and published their records. As an example of devotion and self-sacrifice, he quoted the case of Dr. Fernandez, who, at a great age, had not hesitated in the middle of the war to embark on the dangerous voyage across the Atlantic to Europe. They had introduced a system of publishing summaries of their proceedings in French, English and German, which assisted the work of intellectual co-operation.

Furthermore, the Society for the Development of Scientific Study and Research, the secretary of which up to the present time had been M. Castillejo, a member of the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching, had displayed considerable activity, since, for more than twenty years, it had been establishing scholarships for students and young professors in foreign countries, and had organised lectures by Spanish and foreign professors in Spain and elsewhere, such as M. Menendez Pidal, M. Sanchez Albovrioz, M. del Rio Hortega, etc.

M. FABELA (Mexico) stated that the Mexican National Committee had carefully studied the appropriate means for developing the intellectual co-operation movement in countries where the culture was similar to that of Mexico. He considered these means, in order of relative importance, were the following :

- (a) Education.
- (b) Cultural institutions and scientific, artistic and literary societies.
- (c) Workers' organisations.
- (d) The means of expressing and communicating ideas : Press, conferences and reports, broadcasting and cinematography.

M. ROQUANT (Chile) read the " Proposals regarding Intellectual Co-operation " and the " Proposals regarding Pan-American School Exchanges " contained in the report of the Chilean National Committee. He also gave a few particulars of the work to which the Committee in his country had devoted itself with tireless enthusiasm ever since its foundation.

In conclusion, he emphasised the keen interest taken by Chile in the work of intellectual co-operation and said that his country might rightly be regarded as one of the founders of that movement in Latin America.

M. TAHA HUSSEIN (Egypt) said that, over and above the international intellectual co-operation required by Egypt's daily need to learn from and collaborate with her European elders and masters, she was engaged in a new sort of intellectual co-operation with her eastern neighbours. Syria and Iraq were already sending their young students to Egypt. It was perhaps from the new methods brought in by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation that those countries had learnt the method of university exchanges, which were beginning to take place between Egypt and the neighbouring Arab countries — Syria and, particularly in the last two years, Iraq. In the current year, there had been a spontaneous exchange of correspondence between scientists and intellectual workers in the three countries who were seeking to organise intellectual co-operation in the Moslem Arab world of learning. A Committee which had met in Cairo in January had succeeded in organising a sort of co-operation between university graduates in the three countries, the purpose of that co-operation being the preparation of a yearly bulletin, of a bibliography and of editions of ancient texts, and the holding of yearly meetings in various capitals of the Moslem Orient. That showed that Egypt and the other Arab countries of the Near East had every inclination to accept the conception of intellectual co-operation with enthusiasm and pride.

At the present moment, however, there were certain difficulties. The first was that the language of those countries was Arabic. French and English were, of course, widely known, but mainly among the educated classes. In Egypt, at least, it was impossible to disregard the masses ; consciousness of the support of the general public was essential. But European ideas were new to that public, and there was an old Moslem tradition opposed to them which was as strong now as in the Middle Ages. It was absolutely necessary that they should contrive to secure a good reception in the East for everything that came from Europe. In view of that difficulty, they must try to find means of promoting the spread of European ideas — such means as the translation of works and discussions on intellectual co-operation, the use of broadcasting and the cinema, etc.

There was a second difficulty, which was political. Egypt, like the other Oriental countries, was beginning to enjoy her freedom, but it was only recently that she had been admitted to international life, and her freedom was still only relative. Many questions were very difficult to handle, and he was not sure whether intellectual co-operation between the peoples of the East and Near East would not one day meet with difficulties arising out of susceptibility in some European quarter. For instance, there had been an idea of establishing a uniform curriculum for secondary schools in Egypt and the Near Eastern countries. That idea had been very well received by the public, but was there not a danger that it might meet with difficulties from some European Power ? From the point of view of Egypt, he could say that it was a good idea, not only in the interests of the Near East, but also in those of European civilisation in the Near East. Nevertheless, the susceptibilities and mutual mistrust of the European Powers in the Near East would have to be overcome.

A third difficulty arose out of the situation between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. When an Egyptian university graduate desired to visit Palestine, he hesitated to address the Arabs for fear of displeasing the Jews, and hesitated to speak at the Jewish University for fear of displeasing the Arabs. The result was that for some time Palestine would remain outside this intellectual co-operation which was so valuable to the Orient.

There was much to be done to make intellectual co-operation in the Orient useful and fruitful. So far as concerned relations between Orientals and Europeans, the task would be made easier by the very requirements of the Orientals themselves. So far as concerned co-operation between Orientals themselves, he admitted that in his country they relied on the moral support of European savants, a support which was not influenced by political considerations.

Regional Intellectual Co-operation.

Inter-Baltic Intellectual Co-operation.

M. ROEMERIS (Lithuania), Rapporteur, read his report (see page 37).

Intellectual Co-operation between Balkan States.

M. TZITZEICA (Roumania), Rapporteur, read the introduction to his report (see page 40), and summarised the chapter concerning " attempts to establish inter-Balkan co-operation ", concluding by a reference to the " possibilities of organisation " set forth at the end of his report.

The PRESIDENT said that these two reports showed to what extent conditions with regard to intellectual co-operation might differ in different countries.

M. Harri HOLMA (Finland) laid stress on the extremely interesting character of the report of M. Roemeris. In Finland, for geographical reasons, the movement of intellectual co-operation took two directions, towards Scandinavia and towards the Baltic countries. For many years, the Finnish National Committee had been taking an active part in the solution of the concrete

problems referred to in the report of M. Roemeris, particularly in collaboration with the committees of the Scandinavian countries so far as concerned the revision of the schoolbooks of those five countries. Important work had been done, with a view not only to deleting untrue or offensive passages from existing schoolbooks, but also to contributing to the compilation of new textbooks inspired by ideas of international understanding and friendship.

It was in that spirit that the Finnish National Committee desired to contribute, so far as its limited means allowed, to the work of international intellectual co-operation. Regional experiments such as the Inter-Scandinavian Agreement and the Inter-Baltic Agreement might prove useful in bringing about closer collaboration between all the national committees.

M. GUENOV (Bulgaria) apologised to the Conference on behalf of the President of the Bulgarian National Committee, Professor Filov, who had been prevented from taking part in the work of the Conference, since he had recently been elected President of the Bulgarian Academy of Science and was very busy at the moment.

As the Rapporteur had very properly pointed out, intellectual co-operation between neighbouring people or peoples of the same region was one of the most interesting problems, but at the same time often one of the most difficult, because there was reciprocal mistrust, and often there were very powerful political influences.

The Bulgarian organisation desired to remain aloof from political disputes; but that had not always been possible, since, in practice, politics dominated the whole of international life.

Formerly, politics had been a primary obstacle to any understanding between the Balkan peoples, and that applied mainly to the policies pursued by the great Powers.

It was true that, as the Rapporteur had said, almost all the Balkan peoples had passed through the same experiences in the past, which had delayed their natural development and that of their intellectual institutions. The Turkish domination was largely to blame for this.

So far as concerned that period in the life of the Balkan peoples, it must not be forgotten that at all times there had been cultural relations, though mainly in the religious sphere, between the Christian peoples in the Near East.

Since the ninth century, there had been a permanent influence affecting those peoples. After Bulgaria had fallen under the Turkish yoke in the fourteenth century, many educated Bulgarians had fled to Serbia and Roumania, which had maintained their independence, or at least their autonomy, longer.

The Greeks and Serbians, and also the Russians, had contributed to the Bulgarian renaissance. The Bulgarians had helped the Greek and Serbian insurrections at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Roumanians in their turn had assisted in the liberation of Bulgaria.

Later, the relations of the Balkan peoples had changed most regrettably. At present, however, the situation was different. A tendency towards collaboration in the political and cultural sphere was to be found in the Balkans. The division of nations into victors and vanquished was gradually disappearing. These results were due to the efforts of a great number of persons in those countries.

Chief emphasis must be laid on the importance of the Balkan Conferences, which had largely contributed to the establishment of friendship between the peoples of the Near East.

In all the Balkan States groups had been formed, the main object of which was to work towards bringing these nations together in the cultural and political spheres.

At Sofia, there were now Bulgar-Yugoslav, Bulgar-Roumanian, Bulgar-Greek and Bulgar-Turkish associations; and similar groups were to be found at Belgrade, Bucharest, Athens and Ankara. The basis of collaboration between those peoples was being prepared day by day.

Visits of professors, students, men of letters and thinkers were becoming more and more frequent among the Balkan peoples. The Bulgarian National Committee was also working to that end, and had the assistance of the Bulgarian Government.

It was true that there were still serious questions, both political and economic, at issue between the Balkan peoples — a legacy of the great war — such as the question of national minorities.

They aroused mistrust between the peoples, but he was nevertheless convinced that, with goodwill and mutual concessions, it would be possible to reach the goal of sincere and lasting friendship.

Differences of language were another obstacle to the establishment of friendship between peoples in the Balkans. The Yugoslavs and Bulgars could understand each other, but the Greeks, Roumanians, Turks and Albanians all spoke quite different languages. That obstacle however, was not insuperable.

In the name of the Bulgarian delegation and of his national committee, the speaker approved the Rapporteur's proposal for the co-ordination of the various attempts at inter-Balkan intellectual co-operation. It would inevitably lead to friendly relations and active collaboration between the national committees of the Balkan countries, under the aegis of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

The Bulgarian National Committee agreed that for that purpose general meetings of the national committees and special meetings of the Committees of the Balkan countries in various centres and at various times should be organised.

It entirely approved of the work of the national committees represented at the second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation.

Bulgaria remained faithful to the League of Nations, to its spirit, to its supreme purpose. The League was almost the sole hope of small nations whenever their independence or their territorial sovereignty were threatened.

Its powers should be strengthened and extended so that it might become a strong body capable of solving the questions which at the present time weighed on the destiny of the European peoples.

The National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, by their efforts to bring peoples closer together, were working for the League of Nations, since the latter could only be strong if it were composed of peoples that were reconciled and free from rivalries.

Only then would the League be in a position to put its Covenant into practice and to establish a just and equitable peace, as he had already explained at the Congress of Democratic Parties at Sofia in 1933, and in the Council of the Federation of League of Nations Societies on several occasions.

In conclusion, he expressed the hope that there would be closer collaboration between the Balkan peoples, and that that collaboration might one day become a positive and powerful instrument of peace and progress in the Near East.

M. KNÖS (Sweden) said that the question of regional understandings was of special importance to the countries of northern Europe. In the north of Europe there were four countries which had practically the same language, the same ideas and the same organisation of their intellectual life. If the Baltic countries could get into closer touch with the Scandinavian countries, that would create a much larger and more important unity, and would help to preserve civilisation in northern Europe.

The countries in that region had much to give and much to gain. They had long since learnt to respect one another's outlook. There were already close relations between them and all the other European countries, including bilateral agreements with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc. But bilateral co-operation was one thing and it was another thing to create a regional committee which would be in a position to promote closer relations. For those reasons, he was very glad to hear what M. Roemeris had said about the efforts of the Baltic national committees to get into closer touch with the Scandinavian countries.

Special Position of Distant National Committees.

In M. Binns' absence, Sir Robert GARRAN (Australia) summarised his report (see page 42).

SIXTH MEETING.

Wednesday, July 7th, 1937, at 3.30 p.m.

Organisation and Activity of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation (continued).

The National Committees as a Factor in National Intellectual Life.

M. LUTOSTANSKI (Poland) read and commented on his report (see page 45).

Structure of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

M. MUNCH (Denmark), General Rapporteur, commented on his report (see page 48).

M. BUERO (Uruguay) informed the Conference that a national committee had been set up in Uruguay in May 1937.

He would like to put three suggestions before the Conference.

The first dealt with the question of how often the general conferences should meet.

He considered that the General Conference of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation might in a sense be regarded as the States-General of the international intellectual co-operation movement. It was a vast assembly, in the democratic sense of the word, of national intellectual co-operation organisations within the framework of the League of Nations. It would therefore be right for this assembly to hold regular meetings, which should take place at stated intervals and fairly frequently.

Regular and frequent meetings meant, however, heavy outlay both for the Governments and for national committees. They would also place a heavy administrative burden on the secretariat of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and on the Institute.

The efforts recently made had in any case met with complete and encouraging success ; and he would like on this occasion to thank the organisers of the Conference, among whom were a number of his friends and former colleagues in the League of Nations. Once a decision had been reached as to the intervals between meetings, the only thing that remained was to fix the details.

His second suggestion dealt with the method of selecting the members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. They were at present appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, which was an essentially political body, and which made these appointments after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee. The method, which was really a form of co-opting the members, was nevertheless an improvement on a purely political method of election.

A further improvement might perhaps be made. It would be possible and desirable for the national committees in conference to undertake to draw up a list of well-known persons. This list would then be laid before the Council of the League to help in the appointment of members of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The Council would retain its right of election. The list in question might be used for the appointment of half or two-thirds of the members of the Committee.

The chief thing was to make certain of co-operation between the Council and what he had called the States-General of the intellectual co-operation movement.

If the intervals between meetings of the General Conferences were too long, difficulties connected with organisation would arise. If the conferences were held every two or three years, however, such difficulties could easily be overcome. Here again the details would have to be indicated in a text.

The third suggestion related to the legal strengthening of the Statute of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. What, indeed, was this legal Statute at the present time? It originated in an agreement between the French Government and the Council of the League. He desired to pay a tribute to the generosity of the French Government, which had taken upon itself the housing and the main expenditure of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Eighteen countries, which were bound only by the obligations of a gentlemen's agreement, steadily supported the Institute. In point of fact, every single contribution had been received, which was a very encouraging state of affairs.

It would, however, be fitting and quite feasible to widen the legal foundations of the Institute by means of a protocol open for signature by all Members of the League and States non-members. This would help to give the Institute a truly universal character. The scale of contributions would be decided upon later.

In this way, the Governments would be bound to the Council and the League of Nations by an undertaking similar to that which bound France. The situation of the different countries would be legally identical and this new organisation would render the Institute morally and financially independent.

M. Buero concluded by giving his entire support to the suggestions put forward by M. Munch in his report.

M. OPRESCU (Roumania) considered that amongst the very interesting reports submitted to the Conference, that of M. Munch should be regarded as one of the most valuable, as it suggested all sorts of considerations on the future of intellectual co-operation.

He had taken part in building up the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation from the beginning. He was therefore in a position to realise the progress made, and considered it very satisfactory.

Year by year it had become more and more important and intellectual workers now regularly looked to Geneva and the Institute. The Assembly devoted increasing attention to the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. It had begun by passing from one committee to another to be finally dealt with in two hours, but at the last Assembly the discussion of this work had taken up no fewer than six or seven meetings.

Intellectual co-operation was therefore no longer in its infancy or even its adolescence. It was in the flower of its youth and had perhaps even reached maturity; and so the question of giving it a statute to take away the somewhat indefinite character it at present had might now be considered. It was with a view to drawing up this statute that M. Munch had submitted suggestions for making its legal structure more solid and precise.

The fundamental proposal was to establish an international convention open for signature by the various Governments. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should obviously study the text of this convention and appeal, in this connection, for suggestions from the national committees. By such a convention the Institute would become an organ, which instead of being simply the product of an agreement between the French Government and the League, would henceforth be supported by a number of States, including even States not members of the League.

It would henceforward possess a regular legal statute, and also a financial statute, a point of some importance at a time when it was becoming more and more essential to protect the Institute's officials from exchange fluctuations. The Institute should be in a position to regard the future without apprehension and no longer be exposed to the risk of not being able to redeem its promises.

With all the weight of the experience he had acquired in the service of intellectual co-operation, he supported M. Munch's proposal.

M. DE REYNOLD (Switzerland) observed with satisfaction that the ideas he had formerly put forward, which had then been described as dangerous innovations, were now revived with success, and had won the almost unanimous approval of the Conference.

The idea of an international convention to establish the statute of the Institute was inseparable from the question of the part played by intellectual co-operation in the world.

Moreover, this idea would perhaps encounter legal and political difficulties, and that was why it was worthy of serious examination. He acceded to it provisionally.

Mr. SHOTWELL (United States of America) said he had followed with the greatest interest the discussions that had taken place during the meeting, on which M. Munch's proposal had conferred a new and wider significance. He considered that these proposals deserved a thorough examination before the close of the Conference.

In the first part of M. Munch's report, he found the statement that the present organisation, although satisfactory, was yet capable of certain improvements, some of them in connection with methods of work. For instance, it would be well worth while to make certain of better co-ordination in the sphere of political and social sciences. A permanent committee existed for arts and letters and another for the physical sciences, but there was no committee for the political and social sciences, although he had already submitted a proposal in this connection at Geneva.

The place of such a committee was up to a certain point filled by the Permanent International Studies Conference which had met the previous week in Paris. But that Conference did not fulfil all the requirements of the political and social sciences. History, statistics and economics showed great possibilities of international development, however. He would not go into the technical details of any of these sciences, but would point out that certain striking cases of overlapping existed.

Could not a permanent committee be set up for social and political sciences which, without supplanting the present Permanent International Studies Conference, would remain in constant touch with the Institute? He accordingly requested that a proposal for setting up a permanent committee for political and social sciences should be added to the suggestions in the first part of M. Munch's report, suggestions which, moreover, he fully supported; such a proposal might be laid before the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation at its next session.

Although it was difficult for an American to take up the question of relations with the League, he imagined that it would be a very wise course to set up an autonomous body for intellectual co-operation, which would form, as it were, a chamber for intellectual relations free from all connection with departments of foreign affairs subject to governmental policy. Such a proposal contained great possibilities. An attempt should be made to set up a body covering the cultural rather than the political and economic relations of the world. The idea would no doubt be favourably regarded in American intellectual circles.

M. Munch's proposal might lead to closer ties between the peoples of America and Europe.

Sir Frank HEATH (United Kingdom) said he had been unable to give M. Munch's proposals the full attention they deserved; he confined himself to giving his support, but would like to know if it was intended to set up an intellectual co-operation organisation on a basis similar to that of the International Labour Office.

Such a scheme might facilitate the accession of the United States and of certain other countries. The proposal deserved to be very carefully studied, since, if it obtained the support of a large proportion of the countries of the world, the ball would be set rolling and fresh accessions would not be long in coming in.

As regards the proposals in the second part of M. Munch's report, he would like to put forward his opinion as an old Civil Servant that they should step warily in making any concrete suggestion as to what the organisation should do. It would be better simply to widen the basis of the Institute and leave that body the task of deciding the actual functions with which it should deal. They should rely on the men and women selected to carry out the proposed work.

He could not at present discuss Mr. Shotwell's proposal for the setting-up of a new committee for political and social sciences. He considered that it rather tended to strengthen the present practice.

M. MUNCH (Denmark) thanked the members of the Conference who had spoken for the support they had given to his proposal. He had not dared to ask for the setting-up of a body similar to the International Labour Office and the Labour Conference; he had chiefly wished to organise a common centre for the national committees, in which all countries should be represented, and which would be entrusted with the task of working for a better understanding between peoples and of gaining the support of the general public. Doubtless the proposal of the Danish delegation would need thorough discussion before taking final shape, but he hoped that the Conference would adopt a definite resolution on the subject.

SEVENTH MEETING.

Thursday, July 8th, 1937, at 10.30 a.m.

Function of Intellectual Co-operation in the Organisation of the Contemporary World. .

M. HUIZINGA (General Rapporteur) commented on his report (see page 51).

M. DE REYNOLD (General Rapporteur) commented on his report (see page 54).

Mgr. BEAUPIN (Catholic Commission) agreed with M. de Reynold that the part played by intellectual co-operation in the contemporary world should not be overestimated. Even so, the intellectual co-operation movement could not be carried on without the assistance and support of

the great religious, moral and spiritual forces which shared the allegiance of mankind. That circumstance was in itself ample justification for the existence of such bodies as the Catholic Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, the Evangelical Committee and the Interparliamentary Committee, and he looked forward to the foundation of other such specially constituted bodies.

It was a striking fact that, geographically, the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation extended to all the continents of the world. In that connection, the Egyptian delegate's remarks had been particularly impressive and interesting, as they had shown the progress made by the idea of intellectual co-operation, not only in his own country, but also throughout the Arabian and Moslem world. A new spiritual force was thus preparing to take its place among them, side by side with the forces of Christianity, so that, geographically and spiritually, intellectual co-operation was becoming universal in scope; as M. de Reynold had said, it was becoming a rallying force in an age of division, dispersion and opposition. In short, it was revealing the fundamental unity of the human species, irrespective of race or class or even of religion. That was a new fact of inestimable importance.

A great deal had been said of the composition of the national committees; they must, as M. de Reynold had suggested, reflect that universalism in every possible way, and in addition to persons of established reputation, acting, when required, as a kind of committee of sponsors, their members should include representatives of all the vital forces of each nation and section of society: students, Press, the most representative workers' organisations, so as to fulfil the workers' aspiration to culture, of which the movement for the organisation of workers' spare time afforded novel and encouraging evidence. This last was a matter to which the Catholic Committee had devoted much attention.

In the third place, concern had been expressed at the small headway made by intellectual co-operation in reaching the general public. In that connection, he would make two suggestions:

(1) That the Institute should be given the means of reaching the general public directly and by its own efforts, and thus of doing more to popularise — in the best sense of the word — its various activities and enterprises. The *communiqués* issued to the Press should not be so colourless, and visitors to the Institute should be given leaflets similar to those distributed at Geneva to visitors to the new League building and International Labour Office. Such leaflets, however unambitious, would do great service to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and to the committees such as that in which he himself was interested, as it would enable them to give publicity to any ideas or texts to which they attached particular importance.

(2) The proper function of the national committees was to influence their own public opinion by the means at their disposal, not in a spirit of propaganda, but with a view to making the spirit, the methods and achievements of intellectual co-operation better known. It was for that reason that he had urged that the members of national committees should include several representatives of the Press.

As regards action on public opinion, he agreed with M. Focillon that though individuals might be kept in the background, the activities of the Institute must be given the fullest publicity. The man in the street must be told, and was able to grasp, why and how the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation had taken such and such action, and that would help to put an end to mistaken and uncomplimentary impressions regarding the value of its work.

In conclusion, he would point out that, as a means of reaching public opinion, the national committees in almost all countries could obtain the assistance of the national branches of the thirty international associations that were members of the Joint Committee. In the previous year, the International Committee had commended the decision to publish the volume entitled "Ten Years' Activity". The delegations present would find all the essential data regarding the Joint Committee in the two-page blue leaflet which had been distributed to them. The member associations included teachers', women's, young people's, mutual aid, social and religious organisations. Co-operation between their national branches and the national committees must be made increasingly effective. On that point it should be recalled that, at its last session, the Joint Committee had adopted a recommendation to that effect, together with another regarding foreign travel for teachers and visits of lecturers to foreign countries, and in that connection had requested the assistance of the national committees or other competent bodies.

The Joint Committee reached public opinion through the bulletin of its member associations and thus rendered a signal service to Intellectual Co-operation. That service must be still further extended, and such was the importance that he attached to co-operation of that kind that he hoped to see the Conference adopt a resolution in its favour.

Several of his suggestions are taken account of in the draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom delegation. It might perhaps be possible to add a few lines on the desirability of this collaboration, which the Comité d'Entente would welcome unanimously. Finally, all action tending to strengthen the juridical solidity and the financial possibilities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should be highly encouraged.

Sir Alfred ZIMMERN (United Kingdom), like M. de Reynold, recalled that eight years had elapsed since the last general Conference. All who had closely followed the work in the field of intellectual co-operation before and after 1929 were bound to feel satisfaction and even optimism. After a period of waiting and dreaming, of trial and error, the Organisation had reached maturity. It had now discovered its true sphere in which it could act effectively. As M. Focillon had said, order had been established in the field of intellectual relations, a field which, until the creation of the International Committee in 1922, was still virgin in that respect.

In his report, M. Huizinga had said that the age was a savage one and that there had been retrogression in all matters of the mind : two of the chief evils of the age, he asserted, were hyper-nationalism and the spirit of advertising. During that time, however, the International Committee and the national committees, following the reorganisation of 1929, had been going on with their work as usual.

In the second place, M. Huizinga asked what could be the use of committees and an organisation dealing with the things of the mind. Christianity and the Renaissance were not the work of committees or of an international secretariat. Why, therefore, multiply committees, organisations and conferences and expect them to yield spiritual results ?

His reply would be as follows :

(1) What had the International Committee been doing during this retrogression of civilisation ? It was part of the League, an advisory body of the Council, which was a political body. It had no doubt enjoyed the fullest independence in its work, but all its activities, including the present Conference, would form the subject of reports to the Council and Assembly which those bodies could accept or reject. That link between the International Committee and the League as the political organ prevented it from becoming a mere protesting organisation or from assuming an attitude of moral indignation : its function was neither to support nor to oppose the politicians, but to maintain the frontiers between politics and learning and, above all, between politics and the political and social sciences. If it succeeded in preventing the intrusion of politics and diplomacy into its work as it had done hitherto, it would have accomplished something of real value.

(2) Was intellectual co-operation capable of creative work ? Yes and No. From the formal point of view, no, as committees could not write books or create works of art. Its function, a more modest one, was that of creating conditions facilitating intellectual work. Its task was to perfect the implements of such work, and to that end it had busied itself with questions relating to libraries, museums, bibliography, translation, educational information, etc. In work of that kind and in the co-operation it implied, there were all manner of opportunities for fruitful co-operation which, in their turn, frequently led to creative work. As M. Huizinga had said, its task was to tune the instruments, and that was what it had done.

As two examples of entirely new achievements might be mentioned : (1) The great extension of the activities of the national committees during the past eight years. In that connection, it should be noted that no two national committees were alike and also that there had been various new and valuable developments, such as regional co-operation. Such work sometimes produced excellent and frequently unexpected results by bringing together individuals belonging to different countries or even to the same country. (2) The progress of the Permanent International Studies Conference, which had been held each year since 1928. That development could be traced back to a proposal made in the International Committee in 1926, and the Conference now grouped sixteen countries. He would not go so far as M. Focillon and maintain that in that way a new science had been created ; he would prefer to say that for the study of a new field a certain number of existing sciences — sociology, geography, law and the political and economic sciences — had been brought into combination.

In conclusion, as Plato had said, everyone must cultivate his own garden. As M. de Reynold had urged, it was necessary to respect the autonomy of the League's political activities on the one hand and the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and its various conferences and organs on the other. It was a remarkable fact that those conferences had of their own accord asked the Institute to provide their secretariat, doubtless because the Institute and the International Committee had always respected their autonomy, of which they were jealous. The independence of learned societies, thinkers, artists and other intellectual workers must be respected, as had been the case since 1931. The work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation might perhaps be capable of improvement and adaptation, but, generally speaking, it would be necessary to continue along the lines of the policy adopted in 1931. By pursuing that course and confining itself to a purely spiritual function, the Organisation would be paving the way for more effective co-operation in the political and other spheres.

M. BIAŁOBRZESKI (Poland), speaking as a representative of one of the exact sciences, said :

In this distinguished gathering, representatives of these sciences are somewhat rare. Although the members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation have always included scientists of the first rank, the Committee's activities in the matter of the exact and natural sciences have been somewhat restricted, largely on account of the existence of an international organisation exclusively concerned with such sciences — namely, the vast organisation known as the International Council of Scientific Unions. M. Focillon has already discussed the matter in his substantial report, and it must be recognised that the work of this organisation is far from satisfactory. Except on rare occasions, the unions give scarcely any signs of life. It is strange, for example, that the astonishing progress of theoretical and experimental physics in recent years has found no echo in the activities of the Physics Union. This is not the place to attempt to explain this regrettable state of affairs. Though there is the most active international co-operation among scientists, it is entirely unconnected with most of the unions. It must not be inferred, however, that there is no need for co-ordination in the scientific field. On the contrary, the prodigious development of the sciences and their ramifications, which soon will become almost inextricable, make co-ordination essential.

Members of this Conference of National Committees will all be aware that last year a valuable effort was made by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to establish

collaboration between the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the International Council of Scientific Unions and the individual unions. An agreement providing for such co-operation has already been concluded, and, immediately after the conclusion of our present proceedings, the Committee of Scientific Experts will meet to draw up the programme of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation's activities in the scientific field. The Committee is intended to be a permanent auxiliary body of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation similar to the Committee on Arts and Letters, which is doing most valuable work, particularly in the organisation of "Conversations". The Scientific Committee has already held one meeting, in July of last year.

The coming meeting will in all probability see the signature of the agreement by Professor Gilbert Murray, Chairman of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and Professor Charles Fabry, Chairman of the International Council of Scientific Unions.

As regards the programme, I need only draw your attention to three points :

- (1) The organisation of "Conversations" on scientific subjects of general interest ;
- (2) Financial assistance for scientists, more particularly through co-operation between the great international organisations and national organisations specially created for the purpose ;
- (3) Publication of periodic reports on progress in the various branches of science, with special reference to problems of general importance.

In his remarkably lucid and forceful report, M. Huizinga, my distinguished colleague on the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, spoke of the inability of science to draw men closer together. That is true from M. Huizinga's special point of view, but, approached from other angles, his opinion must appear somewhat paradoxical. It is science which is internationalising the world ; even outside Europe, peoples with an ageing civilisation of their own have faithfully adopted European science, though happily without sacrificing their own genius in literature and art.

Nor can I refrain from a brief reference to the moral value of the exact sciences ; I mean the absolute intellectual honesty without which scientific work is impossible. The least error in theoretical reasoning or an apparently trivial oversight in experimental work is enough to prevent the desired result.

Unfortunately, the influence of this integrity of scientific thought on the public and above all in Government circles has remained lamentably weak ; there it is the advertising spirit, referred to by M. Huizinga, which predominates. Our age abounds in high-sounding watchwords, the true meaning of which is distorted and is adapted to political ends.

I must also say a word regarding the note of pessimism which runs through the reports both of M. Huizinga and M. de Reynold.

The marvellous success of the human mind in the scientific field — success which grows more and more impressive as time goes by — makes the scientist reluctant to take a pessimistic view of the future of human civilisation.

I am fully aware of the gravity of the formidable problems of the present day ; but it must be realised that the immediate restoration of equilibrium after the violent explosion of the great war would be contrary to the inexorable laws of nature.

We must resign ourselves to the belief that the restoration of equilibrium may perhaps be a long process. But the purpose of our Organisation is precisely to do everything in its power to enlist the spiritual forces of man in that cause.

Dame Edith LYTTLETON (United Kingdom) said that she wished to draw attention to one of the United Kingdom delegation's proposals. She had listened with keen interest to what had been said, particularly to Mgr. Beaupin's intervention relating to the important question of workers' spare time. The United Kingdom delegation's proposal was a practical one. She wished to make it clear that its intention had never been, for example, to establish intellectual co-operation between the miners of the Midlands and the peasants of Provence, but merely to enable them to understand what was being done in the way of intellectual co-operation throughout the world. The best means of achieving that end was broadcasting, as people were more accustomed to listen than to read. The national committees should be induced to follow what was being done in their own countries, not merely in the matter of intellectual co-operation, but also in regard to all forms of intellectual progress, and to send monthly reports on those matters to the International Committee or the Institute. The International Committee would set up a small body of three or four members to examine those reports and pick out their more interesting features for broadcasting from Geneva.

As an example of what had been done in the United Kingdom, she mentioned the creation of the British Council, which brought together groups and circles with similar interests. In the previous year, for example, it had organised a visit of Viennese composers and executants to London, while two years previously there had been a big folk dance festival, in which the public had taken the keenest interest. The public elsewhere, however, had known nothing of those efforts. Mention might be made of other interesting examples of progress in various countries, particularly in education, which was of universal interest. There were many activities, even directly connected with the International Committee, of which she herself had been totally ignorant — e.g., the Conference at Cairo. That showed that the general public was not kept informed of what the International Committee was doing. Other developments might also be mentioned which did not directly concern the International Committee, such as the creation of women's institutes in the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. There was a whole series of activities on which the national committees, including that of the United Kingdom, might send reports, and the most interesting of these might be broadcast in talks of from five to ten minutes in length. There was no reason why the information thus collected by the International Committee should not be broadcast by the League of Nations.

The problem of the organisation of spare time was of great importance and should be studied. Nothing was more likely to assist its solution than knowledge of what was being done in the various countries. In the United Kingdom, talks were broadcast on all important international events, and were followed by the public with keen interest. She urged the Conference to adopt a specific recommendation on that matter for submission to the International Committee.

EIGHTH MEETING.

Thursday July 8th, 1937, at 3.30 p.m.

Examination of Proposals of National Committees.

Mr. ZOOK (United States of America) said he was convinced that any possibility of bringing the nations closer together must be founded on the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. In the United States, they had attempted to make use of existing organisations, which already included a considerable number of associations, such as the American Council on Education, the Social Science Research Council, etc. They thus came into contact with the representatives of a large number of organisations which were in touch with colleges, universities and educational movements for adults. But his own view was that the effort to achieve intellectual co-operation should begin among the younger generation; and he thought that better results might have been obtained if, instead of turning only to the secondary schools and universities, they had included the elementary schools as well.

In the United States, nearly all the population went to the elementary schools; one person in three went to the secondary schools, and three million adults belonged to regular organisations, so that they could easily be approached by the new means of spreading information, such as wireless, the cinema, etc. It was also possible in the United States to arrange exchanges of university professors with those of foreign universities on a large scale. He himself thought there should also be extensive exchanges of secondary and elementary school-teachers: for, if the latter were kept informed as to what was going on in the field of intellectual co-operation, they would not fail to pass on the information to the children. He was also in favour of an interchange of documents relating to elementary and secondary education between schools of different countries. He concluded by expressing the hope that the International Committee would endeavour to secure continuous relations between schools, and, in particular, between the authorities entrusted with the direction of such schools. He wished the Institute would pay special attention to this question.

M. BONNET (Director of the Institute) reminded the Conference that not all the questions brought up before it could be solved owing to lack of time. One of the drawbacks of meetings of that kind was that they could only devote a few hours to the examination of questions submitted by specialists who had sometimes devoted their whole lives to such matters.

But all the work and all the proposals presented to the Conference would be duly considered. The speeches delivered and the reports submitted in the course of its proceedings would be carefully studied by the Institute and by the Secretariat of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, which would see what steps could be taken to give effect to the various suggestions and also to bring them to the notice of the general public, either by publishing them in the *Intellectual Co-operation Bulletin* or by some other means.

Various questions had been submitted relating to the functioning of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation; the Organisation as a whole was in touch with Governments and the major international organisations, and with intellectual circles. Its mechanism was somewhat complicated; a description would be found in a pamphlet published by the Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat. The pamphlet was at the disposal of members of the Conference, who would see from it that the universality of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was now virtually an accomplished fact. States which were not Members of the League of Nations had for a long time been taking part in the work of the Organisation; Egypt, for example, before becoming a Member of the League, had maintained relations with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and the latter, through the intermediary of that country, had been able to keep in touch with Arab civilisation. Relations with Brazil had never been interrupted, and the contributions made by the United States of America were very numerous. Exceptions were, in any case, very few in number, and would, it was to be hoped, be only temporary.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation thus embraced all continents. The results were encouraging, and such collaboration must be made more continuous and regular. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which was an advisory organ of the League, already ensured liaison with Governments; furthermore the services of the Organisation were endeavouring to establish closer relations with Government administrations. An attempt had been made, for instance, to establish co-operation with the different Ministries of Education and successful results had been obtained in the matter of elementary and secondary education,

and of higher education in particular. They were indebted to Mr. Zook for having again stressed that particular form of intellectual co-operation. Great adaptability was necessary to establish a link between the education authorities in different countries, as the conception of education varied. The aim, however, was to collaborate with all of them.

While administrative collaboration was one aspect of the work of intellectual co-operation, contact with independent intellectual circles was another aspect. The fact that those engaged in intellectual pursuits in the different countries were prepared to work together was a sure guarantee of peace. The pamphlet on intellectual co-operation (page 45) showed that such liaison was secured by a series of small centres functioning within the Paris Institute. As Mr. Shotwell had observed, administrative co-ordination must aim at the elimination of misunderstandings and at spiritual *rapprochement* side by side with the Organisation's other activities. Foremost among the latter might be mentioned the "Conversations" and the International Studies Conference. The Institute might usefully devote more attention later to the political and social sciences, and to the international problems with which they dealt.

It had been suggested also that meetings of the General Conference of National Committees should be held at regular intervals; annual meetings were hardly feasible, but the principle of biennial meetings might well be adopted.

Several speakers had emphasised the desirability of familiarising the general public with the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. The latter's resources were not at present sufficient to permit of establishing a Press bureau, but the Organisation might consider giving fuller information to the public through the newspapers without, however, over-estimating such possibilities. Use could also be made of pamphlets and lectures.

Referring to the assistance accorded to the Institute in such matters, he thanked Mgr. Beaupin for having directed special attention to the work of the Liaison Joint Committee of the Major International Associations. He referred also to the good relations which were being strengthened daily between the Institute and the Committee of the International Student Organisations.

While acknowledging the merits of the many suggestions which had been submitted, he pointed out that the Organisation was still young and that the means at its disposal did not permit of its launching out into very ambitious undertakings; he hoped, however, that the Institute would gradually be given material support more in keeping with the magnitude of the task entrusted to it.

In reply to the observation made concerning the small part allotted to the exact sciences in the work of the Organisation, he said that activities in that sphere had been restricted, as an international institution already existed, and it was better to avoid overlapping. But an agreement had just been concluded with the International Council of Scientific Unions and a definite programme had been drawn up. It was, however, not true to say that the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation had neglected scientists or the exact sciences. Scientists had been consulted in connection with all educational questions. The Institute had never lost sight of the educational value of science, as might be seen from the fact that the first "Conversation", that on the future of culture, had been presided over by Mme. Curie. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation had sought, so far as lay within its power, to give expression to the unity of intellectual life; that was what constituted its strength.

NINTH MEETING.

Friday, July 9th, 1937, at 10.30 a.m.

In the Chair : His Excellency M. Edouard HERRIOT.

Reports and Resolutions submitted to the Conference by the Drafting Committee (see page 85).

M. DE MONTENACH (Secretary of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation) said that, before reading the recommendations and *vœux* proposed by the Drafting Committee, he wished to explain that it was part of the Drafting Committee's proposal to leave the Secretariat to put the different texts into their final form, the Drafting Committee having been too pressed for time to give the final touches.

Resolution I.

Approved.

Resolution II.

Approved.

On the recommendation in regard to " Special Functions of the National Committees in Young and Outlying Countries ", M. GALLIÉ (France) pointed out that the wording " organisation of visits by members of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation or by officials " would make it impossible for the International Committee to appoint qualified persons to visit the countries in question, unless the latter were themselves members of the International Committee.

M. Henri BONNET (Director of the Institute) undertook to find a more comprehensive wording in the final text, which would meet M. Gallié's point.

The interval between general conferences of the National Committees *was fixed* by the Conference at three years, it being understood that provision should be made to meet the wishes expressed by various delegations for the holding of conferences in the interval in the event of special questions arising.

Resolution III.

Approved.

Resolution IV.

Approved.

Annex: Resolution addressed to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation transmitting the Resolutions submitted by Certain Delegations.

Approved.

Mr. SHOTWELL (United States of America) was confident he was speaking for them all in expressing his grateful admiration to the Bureau for the work done by the latter in the intervals of the labours of the Conference. The report, resolutions and *vœux*, which had been adopted, were the fruit of the co-operation of all concerned ; and they well illustrated the line of thought followed. Delegations had come to the discussions with views which sometimes differed and with ideas which were sometimes confused. The discussion had helped to clear up the position. Delegates now found their thought clearly expressed in the report which, as a general whole, reflected the ideas of each particular individual.

The report embodied a programme, a great part of which had still to be realised : but it served to bring out the responsibilities devolving on national committees to a greater extent than had ever been the case before. The resolution in regard to " Organisation of the National Committees " said that " the national committees are now in a position to constitute the principal foundation for the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation as a whole ". That was a point which the national committees regarded as established : but it had never been put so clearly before. The national committees were responsible for the difficult work of eliminating differences and establishing a better understanding between different forms of culture and different schools of thought.

As to the programme, that was to be found to a large extent in the list of obstacles to intellectual co-operation. That list was provisional only and would have to be revised and amplified. It, too, served to illustrate the line of thought followed. The obstacles in question were like stepping-stones by which to cross the difficult ground ahead of them. He remembered from his student days a verse of Lamartine, which ran :

" S'appuyer sur l'obstacle et s'élancer plus loin."

That showed how they could attain the lofty aims which they all had in view.

His argument, he realised, was what might be called optimistic. It was, he thought, one of the privileges of intellectuals to discover obstacles and go on talking about them, sometimes long after some of them had disappeared. They saw that in the case of history and in the case of science : for happily the history of civilisation showed that the problems man was called upon to solve were not so very numerous. The solutions came in most cases of themselves. New conditions were created before it was realised that the picture was changing. They need not therefore be discouraged if, in the course of the discovery and specification of the obstacles in their path, certain difficulties were found for which no solution was apparent in the present or in the immediate future.

He desired to draw attention to one passage in the report, which had possibly escaped notice, on the importance for purposes of intellectual co-operation of education. That theme was well brought out in the report : it was indeed a corollary of the intellectual co-operation movement as a whole. They had to work in the world of realities in which they were put. They could not seek to transform the workers into astronomers or physicists. What they had to do was to make use of the effect of higher studies to render mankind more tolerant, more generous and more receptive of the highest forms of culture. In so doing, they should have recourse, not only to the national committees there represented, but also to the technical organisations of education, science, art and letters in the different countries. It was not a case of encroaching on the domain of the latter, or of doing themselves the work for which the latter existed, but of contributing certain ideas and stimulating certain activities.

He did not propose to review the whole of the report they had just approved ; but he wanted to say how much he had been struck by a far-reaching remark in the *exposé* of M. Munch to the effect that the work of the national committees, carried on as it was under constitutions of their own acceptance, might or should receive more formal endorsement as a factor in the organisation of the world community whether at the hand of the League of Nations or as a result of Government action.

For himself, he dreamt of an organisation of the world community in which the different forms of culture would no longer be subject to the influence of diplomacy or politics, and national barriers would no longer obstruct the intellectual development of mankind. It might be that it was for the national committees to take the first steps along this road, or at any rate to make a beginning with the study of the possibilities of so re-organising the international structure of the common interests of the intellectual world as to free the latter from the difficulties inherent in the organisation of the peoples in the form of States. He hoped one day the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation would be treated as an independent section and clearly recognised as such by the League. If such a consummation proved possible, he was sure it would receive, generally speaking, the valuable support of the mass of intellectuals in the United States. He hoped that that part of M. Munch's report would remain present in their minds. There was a tendency for the idea of intellectual co-operation to remain somewhat vague : but, when they left the Conference, the delegates would carry away with them a recollection of realities handled. Next week, the members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation would consider the ways and means of giving effect to the recommendations and resolutions of the Conference ; and they in their turn would perhaps be able to re-transmit to the Conference that note of reality.

In conclusion, he expressed the gratitude which they all felt to M. Bounet and his fellow workers, to the members of the Secretariat at Geneva and, above all, to France, who had given the national committees generous aid and hospitality. It was to France they owed the very existence of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. They were all grateful to France, not only for what she had done for them on that occasion, but also for having made it possible for them to exist at all.

M. DE REYNOLD (Switzerland) prefaced his remarks by explaining that, if he rose to speak at the close of the Conference, he did so in a dual capacity, first as Rapporteur on intellectual co-operation to the Council and Assembly, and secondly on his own behalf. He and their President, Professor Gilbert Murray, were the oldest members of the International Committee. Gilbert Murray and himself had seen the birth of the national committees immediately after the establishment of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation itself. Between 1922 and 1923, the national committees were established spontaneously in the countries where intellectual life was then most threatened. In those early days, their object was to make known the immediate requirements of their intellectual life. But, from 1923 onwards, the national committees began to appreciate the part they were called upon to play in the intellectual co-operation movement as a whole. They set themselves, not merely to make known their requirements and their misfortunes, but also to play an effective and positive part in the work of the movement. In this way, little by little, they created the network of national committees which had never ceased to expand down to the present time. That gradual, but continuous, development was a consummation of the first importance in his eyes, because it was a pledge of the solidity of these Committees.

Hence the importance of the present occasion. The national committees had found a definitive place at the basis of the framework of intellectual co-operation, and they would enable the latter to make decisive progress in the direction of what he might call "depolitisation", federalisation and universalisation — subject always to one proviso — namely, that the International Committee and the national committees set seriously to work together on the basis of the present resolutions, in which he recognised and acclaimed the charter of the movement.

He spoke with joy in his heart, but not without a tinge of melancholy, because it was all but certain that he would not attend the next general Conference. At any rate, he would have the satisfaction of having attended the present Conference ; and, when the moment came for him to retire, he would be able to say that one thing for which he had yearned and worked had been brought to the stage of fulfilment. Work to which one devoted seventeen years became part of one's personality. One loved the work for itself — i.e., to repeat Montaigne's explanation of his friendship with La Boétie, "parce que c'est elle et parce que c'est moi". If he had frequently been known to criticise the work of intellectual co-operation, that was because he loved the work, and was ambitious to see it develop increasing capacity to fulfil the great mission to which it was called.

That mission went far beyond the administrative, technical and constitutional aspects of the Organisation. One of the main results — perhaps it was the chief result — of this Conference came within the category of *imponderabilia*. He had in mind that *grande amitié* which, thanks to the national committees, was going round the world. That was the important result of the Conference ; and it might well be that it would survive the administrative, the technical and the constitutional elements of the movement.

Lastly, he associated himself with Mr. Shotwell's tribute of thanks to Professor Gilbert Murray for his great efforts, to M. Edouard Herriot, Chairman of the Governing Body, and to all those French friends who had made the Conference possible. He was in a better position than any of those present to appreciate the heavy burden which the preparation and organisation of the Conference must have involved for the Institute and for the Secretariat, and in particular for M. Bonnet, M. de Monténach and M. Secrétan. In conclusion, he warmly thanked all the delegations there present. His last word should be a note of confidence in the future, come what may.

Close of the Conference.

M. Edouard HERRIOT said :

The first duty of whoever has the honour to preside over this closing meeting is to take the bearings of your labours, as the sailors say. But first, I must thank all those present, especially the ladies who have been good enough to attend, and convey to you a Frenchman's appreciation of the kind things that have been said of my country. We French have plenty of faults. Sometimes we call each other's attention to them. Sometimes others call our attention to them, to prevent us from becoming too conceited. But one characteristic of this country which, I think, no one will dispute is its cordiality. There are many here who are not of France. Be sure we do not look upon them as foreigners. They are at home with us. They can see that by the plain nature of our welcome and the pleasure with which France receives all her guests from other countries. I have therefore to thank those who have come from countries so remote from Paris. We highly appreciate the trouble they have taken to come here.

I see present persons of the highest distinction in science, literature and arts, and I even see a Minister for Foreign Affairs, the representative of a country whose territory is small, but whose intellectual and moral value is great — I mean, Denmark. It is only natural that I should give him a special greeting, since he is the author of one of the most important reports submitted to the Conference.

I greet also the delegates of two countries which are represented here for the first time — Egypt and Iran. Both countries have made historic and magnificent contributions to the history of mankind and of the human intellect. We were waiting for them to come ; and they are now here. I thank them for coming, and I hail their presence.

And now I want to summarise the impressions which, it seems to me, emerge from your labours and from your reports. In so doing, I am following the example just set by M. de Reynold and Mr. Shotwell. That example will be followed again in a few days' time, under other circumstances and with infinitely more competence, by your President, my distinguished friend, Professor Gilbert Murray. You have approved the reports before us unanimously. Happy the position of your President, whom chance has called to the chair, to record such unanimity, such silent unanimity !

Two main ideas, it seems to me, emerge as a result of the Conference.

In the first place, as has been forcibly pointed out by others before me, we are now sure that the national committees established in the different countries constitute the bedrock foundation — or should I say, the roots — of the intellectual co-operation movement. It is perfectly plain that, if the only representative of international intellectual life was the great International Committee, over which my friend Gilbert Murray presides with so much talent and authority, our organisation would be an abstraction, superimposed on the intellectual world, but not forming an integral part of it. But no ! The life process is manifest in the splitting of the cell. I would tell you the learned name of that splitting process, the Greek name : but my Greek is too rusty ! I have forgotten my Greek ; I have forgotten my Latin ; and I sometimes wonder if I am not forgetting my French ! Be that as it may, what is certain is that this natural law is applicable to our Organisation, and I am glad that it is so, since it is a proof of our vitality. Moreover, this splitting process may go further and develop improved organisms in so doing, as I gather from certain of your recommendations you hope it will. I fully agree with that.

The second idea has already been indicated in your assertion of the unpolitical — or should I say, non-political — character of intellectual co-operation. And yet, after all, what is " politics " but the science of order in the *polis* or city ? The word may have deteriorated ; but the idea which it embodies is a splendid one. However, I understand what you have in mind. You mean that intellectual co-operation in any of its forms has no part or lot in those discussions and controversies which give rise to so many misunderstandings between man and man and, as the inevitable concomitant of such misunderstandings, daily and even hourly dangers.

Two conclusions suggest themselves. In the first place, it would seem that there is no justification for the evasion by any State of the obligation to take its part in the international co-operation movement. Secondly, as you yourselves point out in one of your recommendations, there is an obligation on the Assembly of the League of Nations to accept those who represent the national committees of non-member States in such a way as to enable them to play their part in the work of intellectual co-operation. That is an idea which we are all called upon to support. I, for my part, mean to do my best in this connection with the French Government and in other quarters. What are we for, if not to pioneer a path for the League, to clear the way, and to give effect as between ourselves and of ourselves to conceptions more advanced than those of the League ? The League is not perfect. It admits of improvement. I for one have never looked upon the League as an institution by right divine. It may well be that mistakes have been made on occasion in the past in the sense of withholding support from the more liberally minded of our body when they have sought to strengthen the League's arm. It is with pleasure therefore that I emphasise the non-political character of our Organisation. But does that mean that we should leave patriotism out of our outlook ? No, indeed ! We cannot forget that each of us has a country of his own, and that the benefits which result from our co-operation are the contribution of all our several countries. We are here on a basis of union to seek, in all sincerity and disinterestedness, for what unites mankind and not for what divides it.

The two ideas I have put before you are simple and plain. I do not think it can be other than good for all of us, on our return home from this meeting to the complexities of modern life, to take with us two plain and simple ideas like these.

Does that mean that there is no more to do but to proclaim at once our success ? No ! That would not accord with the respect for truth which is the essence of any organisation of

intellectual life. We know well the extent to which the world is still divided, disturbed, unrestful, incoherent. The records of our Conference contain our protests against the obstacles in the path of intellectual co-operation. Some of them are set out in the annexes to our reports. There are plenty of them, and there is no question that they exist ; but at bottom they all reduce to one. What are they, I ask, these obstacles with which we are confronted ? They are none other than the obstacles which matter opposes to mind in all places and at all times, though more especially in our time. That is true equally of difficulties in the way of the exchange of labour or goods, difficulties in the way of trade, or lack of money, of the existence of which last we certainly cannot remain in doubt ! But duties are imposed nowadays, not only on goods, but on ideas. What are we to say of an age which imposes duties on ideas ! At the end of the eighteenth century there was a co-operation of great minds, a real intellectual co-operation. It was the age of the Encyclopædia, when the sovereigns themselves took a hand in the struggle against duties on ideas, Frederick the Great and Voltaire, Catherine II and Diderot, never hesitated to fight side by side, even with those who, at the very moment, were sapping the foundations of thrones. There was never a time when man was so closely circumscribed by his material surroundings as he is now. The conditions in this respect are far worse to-day than they were in the past. I make no question that in the Hellenic age elements of goodwill and intelligence found the conditions of association far easier than they are to-day.

That should not discourage us. On the contrary, it should encourage us to persevere in the establishment of the true and sincere and deep-seated fraternity which we have set ourselves to realise. If the truths for which we are engaged are as yet recognised only by a chosen few, let those chosen few get together and bind themselves by a moral obligation to champion those truths ! It will then be a matter of conscience with them to struggle for these ideas under all circumstances. At least, while the night lasts, let us keep our torch alight !

In your recommendations and resolutions you call for travel, for conferences, for personal contacts. How right that is ! How that must tell, even in the case of a conference like this, in favour of human relations and the solution of political problems ! I spoke just now of the lack of money. We are not given much money, because the value of our work is not appreciated. We are in receipt of grants from certain Governments and individuals and from the Rockefeller Foundation. Money has been described as the nerves of war. Believe me, it is the sinews of peace. I hope this appeal — I will not say, this discreet appeal, for it is not discreet, but indiscreet — will find a hearing in those quarters where there is a readiness to aid men of goodwill such as ourselves.

If I have succeeded in conveying by these few words the spirit of cordiality and conviction by which they are animated, I have said all that I had to say. I wish, as you yourselves observe in your reports, that our Governments had the secret of appealing to the youth of the world. We ought to be able to attract that ardent youth of which Bossuet speaks in his panegyric on St. Bernard. Youth doubtless is sometimes led away by more radiant appearances, and hesitates to enter the modest temple of reason which we are concerned to build and furnish for it. Courage ! In this our Exhibition you may find a pavilion described as the Palace of Invention. It contains within its walls spectacles which I, for my part, can only describe as magnificent. There you may study the infinitely small and the infinitely great. It is a commentary in itself on the Second Book of Lucretius and on Pascal's " Thoughts on the Two Infinites ". These marvellous sights enable us to get behind the surface of matter and to extort from it the laws of its structure. They take us into regions of space far beyond the Milky Way. But all these works of man, as you will see if you read the notices, are the product of the co-operation of minds, of many of which no record remains. It is a misfortune that the achievements of science have no parallel in the moral world. Scientific progress is collective progress, whereas political and moral progress is purely individual. Let us make it our task to render it collective, so as to give mankind its benefits one day. We doubtless shall not live to see that day ; but we shall have worked for it in this world which is still so strongly torn and tormented by ambitions sometimes odious, sometimes ridiculous. We shall have worked for a day when men are reconciled one to another, and the soil is prepared in their midst for the two noble growths of Justice and Peace.

6. GENERAL REPORT, RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

The Second General Conference of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation was held in Paris at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation from July 5th to July 9th, under the chairmanship of Professor Gilbert Murray, President of the International Committee.

The representatives of the national committees took part as full members in the work of the Conference :

The representatives of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the Catholic Union of International Studies and the Permanent Inter-Parliamentary Committee on Intellectual Relations also took part in the Conference in a similar capacity.

There were nine plenary sessions, in the course of which the Conference discussed the following reports appearing on its Agenda :

I. WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FROM 1931 TO 1937.

General Rapporteur : M. Henri FOCILLON, Member of the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, Professor of the History of Art at Paris University.

II. ORGANISATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

General Rapporteur : His Excellency Senator Balbino GIULIANO, Chairman of the Italian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

A. *Inter-American Intellectual Co-operation.*

Rapporteur : M. Miguel Ozorio DE ALMEIDA, Chairman of the Brazilian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

B. *Intellectual Co-operation between America and Europe.*

Rapporteur : M. A. AÏTA, Secretary-General of the Argentine National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

C. *Part played by National Committees in making known in their own countries the Activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.*

Rapporteur : M. Li Yu Ying, President of the Peiping National Academy, Member of the Executive Committee of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

D. *Intellectual Co-operation and Mutual Knowledge of National Cultures.*

Report presented by the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

E. *Regional Intellectual Co-operation.*

(a) *Inter-Baltic Intellectual Co-operation.* — Rapporteur : Rector ROEMERIS, Chairman of the Lithuanian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

(b) *Inter-Balkan Intellectual Co-operation.* — Rapporteur : M. G. TZITZEICA, Chairman of the Roumanian National Committee.

F. *Special Position of National Committees in young and outlying countries.*

Rapporteur : Mr. Kenneth BINNS, Australian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. (The report was submitted by Sir Robert Garan.)

G. *Function of National Committees as a Factor in National Intellectual Life.*

Rapporteur : M. Karol LUTOSTANSKI, Chairman of the Polish National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

III. STRUCTURE OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION.

General Rapporteur : Dr. Peter MUNCH, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the Danish Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

IV. FUNCTION OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION IN THE ORGANISATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD.

General Rapporteur : M. J. HUIZINGA, President of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science, and M. G. DE REYNOLD, Professor at the University of Fribourg, both members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

The Conference wishes to pay a tribute to the valuable reports, submitted in accordance with the agenda, both by the general rapporteurs and the assistant rapporteurs.

In the course of its proceedings, the Conference set up two Sub-Committees, one to consider the obstacles to intellectual life and the other to examine the programme of the International Co-operation Organisation in the sphere of the exact and natural sciences.

The reports of these two sub-committees are included as annexes. The Conference adopted the conclusions of the reports.

The Conference had before it several proposals suggesting new undertakings on the part of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in different fields. They were submitted to it by the delegations of the national committees of the following countries : Austria, United Kingdom, Chile, Denmark, France, Japan, Poland, Switzerland, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the Catholic Union of International Studies and the Delegate of Yugoslavia to the Institute.

In the resolutions which it voted, the Conference took into account as far as possible those suggestions which, in its opinion, could be accepted without further examination.

It thought, on the other hand, that the remaining proposals, which suggested an extension of the Organisation's present programme of work should, in accordance with the usual practice of the Organisation, be examined in greater detail.

It therefore decided to adopt, on this point, a separate resolution addressed to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

The Conference desired to embody in its resolutions and recommendations the conclusions resulting from its discussion of the various reports. It has grouped them under separate headings, corresponding to the different categories of questions dealt with in the course of the debates. These headings are the following :

1. Work done by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation during the last seven years ;
2. Organisation, activities and functions of the national committees on international co-operation ;
3. Constitution and powers of the General Conference of National Committees ;
4. Constitution and functions of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation ;
5. Recommendations to Governments of national committees on intellectual co-operation.

Resolution No. I.

The Second General Conference of National Committees pays a tribute to the work done in the years 1931 to 1937, by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

It conveys to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, to its committees, and to the departments forming its executive bodies, its warmest congratulations on their efforts, their activities and the results obtained. It recommends that the work undertaken be pursued and extended along the lines of the programme of progressive development followed hitherto.

It expresses the wish that the national committees be closely associated with the execution of this programme and invites the committees to take all useful measures in their respective countries with a view to giving the most active and effective assistance to the general work of intellectual co-operation.

Resolution No. II.

(a) Organisation of the National Committees.

The Conference, having taken note of the various reports submitted to it on the activities of the national committees and their functions both in the international and national fields.

Emphasised with special satisfaction the fact that, since this twofold function is becoming increasingly evident, the national committees are now in a position to constitute the principal foundation for the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation as a whole.

The Conference notes with the greatest satisfaction the progress made by the national committees on intellectual co-operation, the increase in their number and the consequent development of their activities, as shown by the assistance which they have given to the Conference.

It expresses the wish that new efforts may be made to promote the creation of national committees in countries where such do not exist, and to increase their possibilities of effective work in countries where they are already active.

In accordance with the principles which have hitherto guided the formation and work of the national committees and their relations with the International Organisation, the Conference is of the opinion that the constitution and functions of such committees should not be governed by any rigid rules.

It considers, however, that it is desirable that national committees should, without becoming uniform in character, attempt to adopt certain common standards with regard to their work in the international and national spheres.

While leaving to the national committees themselves the task of defining the character of their relations with their respective Governments, the Conference is of the opinion that close collaboration would be desirable between the committees and public authorities, and considers

that, whether the committees be of an official or unofficial character, it is essential for them to enjoy the moral and material support of their Governments.

It expresses the opinion that, if the committees are fully to perform their allotted duties, their membership should be as representative as possible of intellectual life in their respective countries and should include qualified representatives of the principal national intellectual organisations.

It draws special attention to the importance of securing the collaboration of bodies representing the rising generation of intellectuals and of representatives of forces which exercise a direct influence on national public opinion : the Press, cinema and wireless.

The Conference is of the opinion that the national committees should consider the possibility of establishing means of collaboration with the competent syndical or trade organisations, regardless of political views ; similarly, they should remain in constant touch with the national branches of the major international associations represented on the Joint Committee.

It wishes to emphasise the value of collaboration with the national committees of their respective countries, of persons participating as experts, or in any other capacity, in the committees and institutions connected with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

It notes, without prejudice to any arrangements regarding internal organisation which the national committees may think fit to make in order to render their work effective, the desirability of establishing a permanent secretariat for the purpose of co-ordinating their national and international activities.

It considers that good will on the part of individuals will not suffice to ensure the working of such a secretariat, and that a certain minimum of material facilities is indispensable.

(b) Collaboration of the National Committees with the International Committee.

The Conference notes with satisfaction the practice followed during the past few years, whereby representatives of the national committees are invited to participate, in rotation, in the work of the International Committee.

It expresses the hope that this practice may be continued and that the International Committee will each year devote one day of its ordinary session to the examination of questions connected with the activity of national committees with the assistance of their representatives.

(c) Circulation of Publications on the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

The Conference considers that one of the first duties of the national committees is to make known in their respective countries the publications issued by the International Co-operation Organisation and to bring them to the notice, not only of specialists, but of the appropriate reviews and journals.

It wishes to emphasise the importance of the work done by those national committees which have had the publications of the International Organisation translated into the language of their respective countries.

It considers that their example should be widely followed in so far as the special conditions of each country allow.

(d) Annual Reports of the Committees.

The Conference requests national committees to send in every year to the International Committee a short report on their activities and it recommends that a summary of these reports be subsequently published under a special heading in the monthly bulletin *La Coopération intellectuelle*.

It notes with satisfaction that the Secretariat of the Organisation has issued a directory of national committees, and it recommends that revised and enlarged editions of that directory be published at regular intervals.

(e) Role of the Committees in respect of Official Agreements for Intellectual Co-operation.

The Conference desires to stress the importance of the bilateral and multilateral agreements concluded by the Governments for the development of the intellectual and cultural relations of their respective countries.

It wishes to see the national committees invited to collaborate in the preparation of these agreements and associated with their execution.

(f) Regional Intellectual Co-operation.

The Conference warmly welcomed the information and suggestions submitted to it regarding the closer relations already established, or contemplated, between the national committees, which, as a result of the proximity of their respective countries, have special affinities.

It emphasises the potential value, to the intellectual co-operation in general, of the action taken in this respect by the national committees of the American, Asiatic, Baltic, Balkan and Mohammedan countries, etc.

It considers it desirable that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should carefully follow and be kept informed of the work of the national committees within such regional groups in order that the results of their efforts may serve the cause of intellectual co-operation as a whole.

(g) *Special Functions of the Committees in Young and Outlying Countries.*

The Conference feels that account should be taken of the special conditions and requirements of the national committees in young countries situated at a great distance from the Geneva and Paris centres.

It stresses the special value of these national committees and the desirability of adapting the relations which the central intellectual co-operation organisations maintain with them to their special needs.

It recommends that either the countries themselves or the competent organisations of the League of Nations should create opportunities for the organisation of visits to these countries by members of the committees on intellectual co-operation, or by officials of the Organisation.

(h) *General Conferences of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation.*

In view of the results of its deliberations, the Conference is gratified at being able to declare that the national committees on intellectual co-operation are now organised and equipped on a sufficiently sound basis for them to constitute one of the essential bases of the entire activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

It believes, therefore, that general conferences bringing together the representatives of all the National Committees should, under the statute of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, become one of the principal working parts in the machinery of this Organisation.

It recommends that steps should be taken by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation with a view to the holding of these conferences at regular intervals of three years and that the preparatory work should proceed without interruption between the sessions.

Without attempting to limit the powers of the Conference and without prejudice to what experience and more exhaustive study may show to be desirable, the Conference believes its chief functions may be defined as follows :

The Conference shall be competent to deal with all questions coming within the field of activity of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and any question concerning the work of the national committees, either in the international field or as a factor in the intellectual life of their respective countries.

The Conference, without seeking to stereotype the structure of the national committees, has as its object to assist each of them to acquire an equal degree of authority and effectiveness.

The Conference shall endeavour to determine the obstacles of every kind which impede the development of intellectual relations in the international sphere and suggest those remedies which it thinks most appropriate.

The Conference shall examine the programme of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and may, in this connection, make any suggestions it considers desirable.

The Conference shall be competent to consider the relations between the various national committees and the activities of regional groups, within the general framework of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

The Conference may formulate its suggestions regarding the statute of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the adjustments to be made therein, with a view to facilitating the rôle devolving upon the national committees and to taking into account their attributions and the prerogatives of the Conference itself.

Generally speaking, it shall be the duty of the Conference to safeguard the essentially non-political character of the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, to promote its universality and to see that in any action initiated in the international field account is taken of legitimate interests and national aspirations.

The Conference may formulate resolutions and recommendations for transmission to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and, through it, to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations.

The Conference can make recommendations to the Governments, instructing the national committees of which it is composed, to transmit them to the authorities in their respective countries.

Resolution No. III.

Statute and Functions of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

The Conference, having been informed of the intention of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to carry out a revision of its statute, considers that, in this connection, account should be taken of the increased needs of the Organisation, of the necessity for affirming its non-political character and universality, and defining its powers and the relations between its various constituent bodies and requests the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to undertake a study of certain improvements of a legal character likely to further the development and activity of the Organisation.

To this end, the Conference recommends :

(a) That the attributions and rôle of the International Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation should be defined, taking into account the views expressed on this point in resolution II voted by the present Conference.

(b) That consideration be given to the possibility of concluding an inter-Governmental agreement, in whatever form may be thought the most appropriate (convention, protocol or declaration), to enable the other Governments interested in intellectual co-operation to associate themselves with the responsibilities assumed by the French Government, in providing the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation with a permanent International Institute to carry on the practical side of its work.

The Conference considers it desirable that, in this international instrument, the Governments while declaring their sympathy with, and their confidence in, the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, should state their willingness to give it their moral and material support, by undertaking, for example :

- (1) To confirm the international statute of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation ;
- (2) To support its activities with regular contributions the amounts of which they would severally fix by common agreement ;
- (3) To ensure that the Institute shall receive the assistance of their national authorities and to specify the services which it might be called upon to render such authorities.
- (4) To this end, the representatives accredited by the contracting parties to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation would act as a permanent link between the Institute and the public authorities of their respective countries for all questions concerning Government departments.

The Conference is convinced that these new undertakings assumed by the Governments can largely contribute to the Organisation's development.

The Conference leaves it entirely to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to take such steps as it may deem most appropriate with a view to giving effect to this recommendation and invites the national committees to do everything possible to induce their respective Governments to give favourable consideration to the suggestions that will later be submitted to them in this connection.

Resolution No. IV.

Barriers to Intellectual Contacts among Nations.

The Conference,

While noting with satisfaction the efforts made by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to lessen the obstacles to international intellectual co-operation :

Registers its sense of the importance of continuing this work with renewed vigour and suitable organisation ;

And, taking note of the observations offered in this regard during the discussions of the Conference, recommends that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation request the Institute to collect, through the good offices of the national committees, precise information concerning the situation in various countries ;

It further recommends that a Special Committee be appointed to study, together with the national committees, the obstacles to intellectual co-operation and appropriate measures for their elimination or mitigation.

V. FINAL RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

The Conference pays a tribute to the States represented in the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations for their sympathetic interest in the work of intellectual co-operation, and for their understanding and generosity in extending the field of its activities.

It declares that the International Co-operation Organisation and the national committees belonging to it must serve, and undertake to serve, the principles on which the League of Nations is based, thereby helping to foster a spirit of good understanding and mutual comprehension amongst the peoples of the world, which is essential to international justice and peace.

It is convinced that the Assembly and the Council of the League, realising as they have done in the past how necessary it is that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should develop its activities with a view to achieving universality, and in a spirit free from all political considerations, will continue to give it their support and make adequate financial provision for the normal development of its work.

The Conference makes a similar appeal and is equally grateful to the States non-members of the League of Nations for the interest they have shown in the work of intellectual Co-operation and the support which they have given to their respective national committees.

The Conference again tenders its congratulations and thanks to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation for its activity, for the prestige which it has acquired, and for the spirit in which it supports the activities of the national committees on intellectual co-operation.

The Conference thanks the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation for their devoted and efficient help in the general work of the Organisation and, in particular, in the work of the Conference.

The Conference wishes to express its special gratitude to the French Government, whose generosity and support have helped forward the work of intellectual co-operation by making possible the establishment of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in 1926 and the organisation of the " Intellectual Co-operation Month in 1937 ".

The Conference attaches the greatest value to the fact that the Government of the French Republic is willing to continue to support the work of international co-operation.

It expresses the hope that other Governments, recognising the importance and value of the assistance given by the French Government, will give it the fullest possible support.

The Conference therefore makes the following recommendations :

(a) That, in view of the importance of the work of intellectual co-operation, the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations and the non-member States may see their way to recognising the special needs of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

It recommends, in this connection, that appropriate means be sought to ensure that the appointment of members of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation be governed by the need for ensuring the representation of the main national cultures, and chief branches of learning, and for making the Committee truly representative of the main trends of thought ;

(b) That the development of national committees on intellectual co-operation be encouraged, that their need for independence and freedom of action be recognised, while allowing them to play an effective part in the national and international spheres, and giving them, for this purpose, all the moral and material support which they may need.

(c) That due recognition be given to the importance of the national committees on intellectual co-operation by means of periodical general conferences, with clearly defined powers, and by laying down the part which they should play in the general work of the Organisation.

(d) That a new statute of the Organisation be formed and put forward by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

(e) That, on the occasion of the revision of the statute, the relations between the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and its permanent Advisory Committees be defined, and that these Committees should severally correspond to the various categories of questions dealt with by the Organisation.

(f) That, in the same connection, the possibility be considered of providing for the formation of a new Advisory Committee to deal with questions relating to the social sciences.

The Conference further expresses the hope that the Members of the League of Nations, and States non-members interested in intellectual co-operation, will support the efforts to be made by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the national committees, with a view to making the work of the Organisation and its results better known. It also recommends that the Press, the national broadcasting services, and the broadcasting service of the League of Nations give the fullest and most effective assistance possible with a view to making the efforts and achievements of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation better known, not in a spirit of propaganda, but with the object of providing objective information.

The Conference recommends the Governments Members of the League of Nations — and invites the national committees to transmit this recommendation to their respective Governments — regularly to include in their delegations to the Assembly qualified representatives of the national committees of their respective countries, so that these Committees may thus be closely associated with the examination by the Assembly of the League of Nations of questions connected with intellectual co-operation.

The Conference expresses the hope that steps will be taken to ensure the participation, in whatever form and subject to whatever conditions may be deemed most appropriate, of qualified representatives of States which, though not members of the League of Nations, nevertheless collaborate with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in the proceedings of the Committee of the League Assembly dealing with questions relating to the activities of the Organisation. It recommends the national committees of the Members of the League of Nations to urge this recommendation upon their respective Governments, and hopes that the States non-members of the League of Nations which collaborate with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation will receive favourably any invitation extended to them in accordance with the foregoing recommendation.

The Conference recommends each of the national committees to use its influence with the executive and legislative authorities of the respective countries with a view to hastening the ratification and application of the conventions or agreements concluded under the auspices of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation — in particular, the international Convention to facilitate the Circulation of Educational Films, concluded in October 1933, of the Declaration relating to the revision of school text books, signed in September 1936, and of the International Convention on the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace, concluded at Geneva in September 1936.

The Conference considers it of the greatest importance that, in their annual reports to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the national committees should indicate the results of their effort to secure the application of these Conventions, or the results of such application where this has taken place.

ANNEX I.

PROVISIONAL LISTS OF OBSTACLES TO INTELLECTUAL CO-OPÉRATION.

I. LIST SUBMITTED BY THE AMERICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

A. *Obstacles of an Economic Character.*

Limitation on the exercise of the liberal professions and the arts by aliens ;
Custom duties on books (" manufacturing clause " at present in force in the United States, preventing the entry of books printed abroad in the language of the country) ;
Quota restrictions on films, impeding the distribution of works with a cultural value ;
Prohibition or restrictions concerning currency, seriously affecting intellectual circles in rendering travel abroad difficult.

B. *Obstacles of a Legal or Administrative Character.*

Difficulties in gaining admittance to public archives and libraries ;
Difficulties encountered by aliens in borrowing or exchanging books and documents ;
Privileges granted to certain countries with respect to excavations and other archæological expeditions ;
Too severe conditions exacted by authors or publishers for translation of their books into foreign languages ;
Absence of protection in certain countries for the " moral right " of alien authors ;
Insufficiency of the international protection of scientific discoveries and inventions.

C. *Obstacles of a Political Character.*

Prohibitions of the entry of newspapers, periodicals and books ;
Punishment of readers of such prohibited materials ;
Reprisals ;
Measures against foreign newspaper correspondents ;
Restrictions on the importation of films and gramophone records, motivated by political considerations ;
Punishment of listeners to foreign broadcasts ;
Radio propaganda directed against other countries ;
Difficulties created by the postal and telegraph administration ;
Discontinuance of the teaching of certain foreign languages.

2. LIST SUBMITTED BY THE SWISS NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

A. *Economic Obstacles.*

Due to :

- (1) The protection of labour ;
- (2) The protection of industries ;
- (3) The difficulty of international payments ;
- (4) Financial difficulties (budgetary restrictions, etc.).

B. *Legal Obstacles.*

(Legislation and Conventions concerning authors' rights.)

- (1) Protection of foreign works ;
- (2) Protection of national works abroad.

C. *Political Obstacles.*

The national committees will, if they think it necessary, express their opinion on the political obstacles to :

- (1) The diffusion of their national culture in other countries ;
- (2) The establishing of contact between their nationals and the intellectual life of other countries.

3. LIST SUBMITTED BY THE AUSTRIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

A. The unfavourable economic position of the intellectual classes, who thus find it impossible to purchase books or to travel abroad for study purposes : hence the risk that mutual understanding will be impaired ;

B. The unfavourable position of the public finances, resulting in :

- (1) Lack of State funds for learned and artistic purposes ;
- (2) Duties and taxes on books and performances.

C. Foreign exchange restrictions which prevent :

- (1) Attendance at congresses in foreign countries and the exchange of university students and teachers ;
- (2) Transfer of fees in respect of publications and artistic productions.

D. Political conditions the effect of which is to prevent :

- (1) The free expression of opinion through the written and spoken word ;
- (2) Foreign travel.

E. The absence of the proper technical basis for Intellectual Co-operation as shown by :

- (1) The lack of co-operation between the national committees ;
- (2) The " summaries " of learned and scientific works in the " less widely known languages ".

4. LIST SUBMITTED BY THE BRITISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

A. The refusal to admit foreign musicians unless they are members of the British Union of Musicians.

B. The similar refusal to admit foreign scientific workers, save in exceptional cases — e.g., refugees from Germany — because they may reduce the employment of British workers.

C. The use of foreign broadcasting stations for political propaganda contrary to the comity of nations.

D. The meagre national support for the national committee.

E. The absence of national support to the Paris Institute.

ANNEX II.

FUNCTION OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE SPHERE OF THE EXACT AND NATURAL SCIENCES.

REPORT BY PROFESSOR A. ROHN,

Chairman of the School Council of the Federal Polytechnical School of Zurich.

A suggestion was put forward by the Spanish Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to the effect that a committee consisting of the scientific members of the Conference should be appointed to consider the present scientific programme of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, to propose new subjects for scientific co-ordination and to consider what technical assistance could be furnished by the various national committees with a view to the carrying out of such a programme.

The Committee of scientific members of the Conference met on July 7th with M. A. Rohn in the chair and received from M. Establier¹ an account of the programme hitherto followed by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in scientific matters.

The Committee noted and approved the main features of that programme, and, in particular, the creation of a permanent scientific committee in co-operation with the International Council of Scientific Unions. It considers, moreover, that as scientific research is one of the essential bases of real progress in technical, economic and social matters, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should do everything in its power to develop its work in that direction.

¹ Official of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

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* * *

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